

# THE STANDARD

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## THE STANDARD.

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## EDITORIAL.

The mail steamer from Australia arrived at San Francisco on Sunday, and we expect to be able to print in the next issue of THE STANDARD some interesting reports of Mr. George's progress in Australia.

Meanwhile, a few clippings from Australian papers have reached us via Brindisi, which show that Mr. George has invaded the protectionist colony, Victoria, while the discussion started by his visit still continues in New South Wales. The extracts give us no report of Mr. George's first lecture in Melbourne, Victoria, beyond a casual allusion to it as a large and successful one. His speech at the second meeting, held at the town hall on Wednesday evening, March 26, is fully reported in the Melbourne Telegraph, and it appears to have been a vigorous and uncompromising address delivered to an audience largely made up of protectionists. The chairman, who is president of the Trades-hall council, declared, in introducing the speaker, that the workingmen of Victoria were afraid that the application of Mr. George's proposals might have the effect of depriving them of their little cottages.

Mr. George at once explained that on the contrary it would lighten the burden now laid on cottagers and make it easier for all men to obtain cottages of their own. He then went on to say that he had intended to speak that evening on the single tax, but that as the morning papers had announced that he would lecture on "Labor and the Tariff" he would make that his topic. Editorially commenting on the lecture the Melbourne Telegraph says:

Mr. George is a free trader; the majority of those who listened to him were protectionists. With all the incisiveness of a humorist, with all the force of an orator, Mr. George expressed his contempt for the fiscal faith of Victoria. He did not rest content with maintaining the position assumed by the English political economist, that protection is inimical to national prosperity. He attacked it as a prelate of the restoration might have attacked nonconformity, as a Covenanter might have denounced Episcopalianism. There was passion in the speaker's tones. Protection is an abomination to him. He seemed to personify it—to picture it to himself the subtle foe of human progress—and to find satisfaction in declaring it mean, dishonest, degrading. The protectionist workingmen of Melbourne listened, and, to their honor be it said, listened courteously, silently, as wise men should to any prophet—true or false, consciously misleading or self-deceived—if they voluntarily place themselves within sound of his voice. All that can be said for free trade, all that can be said in a popular lecture, Mr. George said. We will go further; we are not clear that any one point could have been put more happily than he put it. More happily, of course, having reference to the conditions under which the oration was delivered. And having said so much, we are constrained to confess that Mr. George failed to make out the case for free trade as against protection in the Victoria of 1890.

The remainder of the article is devoted to an argument, from a protectionist standpoint, intended to show that the colony is not yet ready for free trade, and that it never will be ready to accept Mr. George's land ideas.

An editorial article in the Sydney Telegraph of March 26 shows that the discussion started by Mr. George's visit to New South Wales continues with unabated vigor. It appears that on Monday, March 24, Messrs. Salomons and Copeland had attempted to demolish Mr. George and his theories. The Telegraph says that if Mr. George's doctrines are not more effectively attacked than they were

by these two men "the single taxers will not have much to fear from their opponents." It says a strong case could be made out against the single tax programme, but that it was not done by Messrs. Salomons and Copeland, the first of whom "indulged too much in flippant depreciation and contemptuous sneers," while the second "worn and worried his audience by ponderous quotations and laborious argument." Mr. Copeland, it says, "undertook, no doubt conscientiously, the impossible task of expounding doctrines which he does not understand," and hence misrepresented Mr. George's position. The Telegraph tells him bluntly that it was not necessary that "he should tell the public what are the principles of single taxation," since that had "been done by a greater authority than he is." It takes Mr. Copeland to task for bad taste in trying to show that Mr. George had "trimmed his principles" to win favor in Australia, and declares that such a policy would be absurd on the part of a man, dependent on no local fame, but who "writes and speaks for an audience of millions of the English speaking race." The Telegraph administers a sarcastic rebuke to Mr. Salomons, who declared that he was disappointed in Mr. George. It intimates that Mr. George can probably survive this, and though it would not presume to say that Mr. George is a greater man than Mr. Salomons, it reminds the latter that to-day Mr. George's "works and his name are familiar to millions who are ignorant of even Mr. Salomons's existence. It further says:

Mr. George admittedly exercises a most important influence in the world to-day in regard to social politics, and whether that influence be for good or ill it should be treated seriously. No amount of belittling of Mr. George will affect the principles he advocates. They merit earnest treatment apart altogether from the man. And even as far as the man's individual life is concerned, it is not one that lays itself open to a sneer.

By way of striking contrast to the tone adopted toward Henry George by his opponents in New South Wales, the Telegraph copies from the Melbourne Age an editorial article concerning Mr. George. The Age, it says, has no reason to be tender toward him, since "it represents the particular form of monopoly that Mr. George has so vehemently attacked," yet it does what the protectionist organs and speakers in New South Wales "have failed to do—it recognizes that Mr. George has a humanitarian mission." The extract from the Age, which the Telegraph thus introduces, is as follows:

Apart from the objects of his crusade—concerning the merits of which there exist, of course, strongly divergent opinions—he has deserved well from every community of workers by his effective demonstration of the superiority of labor to capital in the development of civilization. Some previous writers had indicated the mistake made by Adam Smith and other political economists in setting the capitalist as the initiator of production, and capital, therefore, as a necessity in the employment of labor; but it was reserved for Mr. George to drive home to the general consciousness the fact of labor of standing as the potent and initial force without which capital must have been non-existent. The publication of his earliest volume, "Progress and Poverty," has been one of the main factors in according to labor its rightful position as the foundation of the social fabric and entitled to primary consideration at every stage of social advancement. The working classes are bound to feel grateful to him for his advocacy of their just claims, but he will find them, if we mistake not, in this colony none the less critical of the nature of the legislative changes for which he contends.

As the Telegraph says:

This is praise from a quarter where there

can be no love for the Georgian theories, but it is nothing more than a recognition of the great work Mr. George has undertaken on behalf of the laboring masses all over the world. This work alone should be sufficient to protect him from the style of criticism to which he was subjected in this city on Monday evening.

The fact that the Telegraph, though a free trade paper, in the ordinary sense of the term, does not accept Mr. George's theories makes this defense doubly significant, and both attack and defense are alike important as showing that because of Mr. George's visit the battle between free trade and protection in New South Wales is likely henceforth to be conducted on broader lines than heretofore.

The Evansville Courier, one of the leading daily papers of Indiana, editorially suggests to the city council of Evansville "that they inaugurate this year the policy of reducing the assessment on improvements one-third each year until improvements shall be free of all taxation by the year 1892." It thus continues: "If the tax is shifted from improvements to the land on which they are built nobody's assessment will be increased and none will be diminished, it is true. But we shall have a basis for assessment of land in the year 1892 that will make it an easy matter to largely increase the revenues without increasing the rate of taxation." The Courier backs up this proposition by an argument going to show that the effect of the change would be to stimulate building. It says that if a man were now to go to the owner of vacant land and say if you will put me up a house I will pay you so much rent, the owner would reflect that if he did build, his taxes would at once be increased. On the other hand, if such a proposition were made when land alone was taxed, it says the owner, "if he knew he could not be fined, would cheerfully put up a house in order that he might obtain a revenue from it and from the land on which he is paying taxes that bring no return." The Evansville Courier is becoming a very good single tax paper, limited.

Mr. Breckinridge recently introduced a bill in congress authorizing farmers to trade breadstuffs to foreigners without any duty on the imports received through the swap. This is the scheme proposed long ago by Mr. George White at a meeting of the Brooklyn single tax club and subsequently commented upon in THE STANDARD. The proposition is a very simple one. It authorizes the producer of American raw material to swap it directly for foreign goods, and to that extent it would establish free trade. The passage of such a bill would give the farmer the advantage of buying in the free trade market of the world in which he is compelled to sell, and the illustration of the advantages offered by even this measure of free trade would soon destroy the whole tariff system. For this reason the protectionists will never allow the bill to be seriously considered, but its presentation is an admirable device for opening the eyes of the farmer so that he can see the existing situation. We cheerfully join the New York World in urging that petitions in behalf of the bill be circulated and signed.

Mr. George Reid, a Canadian artist, has recently painted two large pictures, which are attracting much favorable comment in Canada. One of them is entitled "The



Mortgage" and represents the best room in a Canadian farmhouse, somewhat meagerly furnished, with the family gathered about, displaying various degrees of interest in the transaction of mortgaging the old homestead. The grandfather and grandmother are sitting at one side, the latter in deep dejection, while the grandfather's face bears marks of the years of labor and anxiety through which he has passed. At the table stands the smart man of business who has just taken the signature of the son of the old couple, while in the foreground sits his wife, with a baby at her breast, and on the floor a fair haired child is playing, unconscious of the significance of the act that is giving a stranger a title to the old home in which she was born. On the left, with his head between his hands, looking as sad as though he were at a funeral, sits a neighbor, who has been called in to witness the signatures. The picture is said to be artistically worthy of all praise, and it is to be hoped that it will be speedily engraved for sale in the United States as well as in Canada. It would make an appropriate substitute for the chromo "God bless our home" on the walls of the mortgaged houses of the once free farmers of America who have been driven to poverty by the robber tariff. This generation should bequeath such a picture to the succeeding generations as a warning against any future attempts to set up a system of indirect taxation after the free trade movement shall have achieved success.

"Ballot, a weekly advocate of ballot reform and pure political methods," has just been started in Brooklyn by Mr. E. A. Curley. The most valuable feature in the first number is the new ballot bill in full. This, we think, is the first time a complete publication of the act has been made in any periodical. It also contains a fac simile of the ballot proposed in the vetoed Saxton bill, and has, on the opposite page, the same ballot printed in Hebrew with an explanation showing that, even were it so printed, a voter who could not read that language might be able to make his choice between the parties. We think that any one who will study the fac simile thus presented and then read the section of the new law in relation to the ballot will find that the latter makes an improvement on the Saxton bill. Ballot is mistaken in supposing that THE STANDARD regards the work of ballot reform as absolutely completed. We believe in the real Australian ballot, and since provision has to be made for an illiterate voter in any law passed in this state, it seems to us that the much derided paster solves the problem without permitting any one to enter the secret compartment with the voter.

Hon. De Witt C. Cregier, mayor of Chicago, in his first message to the city council, dated April 14, 1890, says:

In my judgment, the municipality should own, control and operate all works that produce that which is indispensable to its own and the general public necessities, and which could be furnished at little or nothing above cost. Chicago supplies her citizens with water. She provides channels of drainage. It is equally proper that the city should furnish her citizens with light for household purposes, as well as for public use. Nor should we stop here. To furnish heat, power and intra mural transportation are not only within the scope of legitimate legislation, but the practical establishment and operation of such under municipal control would meet a great public want, be a lasting benefit, and prove a source of economy and convenience to the entire community. It is to be regretted that our city cannot (owing to a lack of funds) give any consideration to matters of the kind at present, but I am persuaded improvements in the line referred to are within the range of probabilities in the near future.

This is what some people would call "socialism." It is nothing of the kind. It is a proposal that the municipal government shall do directly those things which cannot be done by private enter-

prise without the loaning or transfer of public property or public powers belonging to all to one or more private individuals, to be used for their personal profit. The constant failure to observe the line that separates public rights and duties from individual rights and duties is the parent of the confusion of thought that gives rise to the socialistic proposition to ignore the existence of such a line, and have the government own everything and do everything.

Whether the proposed "white list" shall prove effective or not, it is certainly a good thing to have church people generally, and the clergy in particular, stirred up to a display of interest in the present condition of working women. The demand of Rev. Dr. Huntington of Grace church for an eight-hour work day may startle some conservatives into thinking of the rights of women, which are so utterly ignored in the large shops. Probably the best eight-hour work day for mechanics is from 8 till 12 and from 1 till 5; but it was pointed out by some of the speakers that the time of women in shops could be greatly reduced by opening later in the morning. There certainly is no good reason why such an arrangement of the time could not be made as would enable shops to remain open for a longer period than eight hours without having any one clerk or salesman employed for more than eight hours. We have no faith in the expedient proposed as a permanent remedy, but it may do good for a time, and its discussion will do good for all time, in arousing interest in the social problem and turning the minds of men and women to the consideration of existing evils and to the study of the real remedy for them.

If the members of the legislature of Kentucky appreciate the high honor that their state has won through the ability of its representatives in congress, they will hasten to put aside all local "booms" in behalf of comparatively unknown candidates, and elect John G. Carlisle to fill the very large vacancy left by the death of Senator Beck.

Mr. Gladstone in his speech to the Cobden club last Monday lamented that the prospects of free trade throughout the world are not encouraging, despite the fact that there is a movement toward freer trade in the United States. If Mr. Gladstone and the Cobden club feel badly about this, why do they not start in to make England a free trade country. It is not one now, by any means, but raises a large portion of its revenue by tariff duties. Tariff duties are the microbes that generate the disease known as protection, and so long as they are allowed to exist it will be impossible to eradicate the disease.

Petty local faction fights in the Third congressional district of Philadelphia were put aside, and the convention to nominate a successor to Mr. Randall went out of the district and named as its candidate ex-Mayor Richard Vaux, on a platform demanding "free raw materials for industries, the removal of all needless taxes on the necessities of life and the reduction of all tariff taxes which have bred and fostered monopoly combines." The platform is certainly as good as could be expected from the district, and the candidate is likely to stand squarely upon it. It is somewhat amusing, however, that the fight amongst the vigorous young aspirants of this generation should have resulted in the choice of a man in his seventy-fifth year, who danced with Queen Victoria when she was young, while he was an attache of the American legation at London during the presidency

of Martin Van Buren. Mr. Vaux is said to be a charming old gentleman, a democrat of the old school, and as sound on the tariff question as it is possible for a man to be who has been a citizen of Pennsylvania all his life.

We print in this issue of THE STANDARD the report of an address by William Lloyd Garrison before the Unitarian ministerial union at Channing hall. It is a careful argument in behalf of the single tax, presented to a body of men who have probably never given any serious consideration to the subject and is admirably adapted for use among ministers of all denominations.

#### THE NEW BALLOT LAW.

As has already been shown, the essential principles underlying ballot reform are recognized and complied with in the new bill that is now a law. Every candidate, regularly or irregularly nominated, has now the certainty that a ticket bearing his name will be put before the voter at the public expense. There is no way in which a briber or intimidator can discover how any man has voted, and no party or combination, however poor, can be shut out from its right to the effective presentation of the names of its candidates.

On the score of convenience, however, we greatly prefer the Australian ballot, with all the names printed one under another, the voter being required to mark those of his choice. The mere work of preparing such a ticket will predispose men toward a discriminating choice and make it easier for the intelligent voter to indicate his will. A great deal has been conceded to the illiterate voter; and the rights and convenience of the intelligent voter are deserving of at least some consideration. Of course it is useless to talk about the Australian ballot so long as Mr. Hill is in the governor's chair, and ballot reformers have every reason to rejoice that men who wanted the law, rather than the issue, were in charge of the measure of the Ballot reform league and ready to accept a bill which sacrifices nothing but convenience.

The chief objection to the new bill is that it still affords some excuse for the assessment of candidates for the purpose of printing and distributing tickets. Of course, with anything like a decent corrupt practices act, the mere expense of printing pasters cannot be made an excuse for such assessments as have been levied in the past, but any opening whatever is sure to be taken advantage of by the men who make their living out of politics, and therefore ballot reformers who seek to improve the existing law should steadfastly keep in mind the need of putting an end, entirely, to the private printing of tickets and the adoption of the Australian ballot proper, without disfranchising the illiterate voter.

This can easily be accomplished. The first legislature that sees its opportunity to enact a law providing for the Australian form of ballot, can at the same time provide for the printing by the state of an exact fac simile, on paper somewhat smaller than the official ballot, and gummed on the back, ready for pasting. Provision can be made for mailing these pasters directly to every registered voter; in which event there will be an abundant supply of them for all who wish to use them. With the law so amended, every illiterate voter could obtain whatever advice and assistance he needed in making up his ballot, either from his own family or from a party heeler, and thus the pretended objection to compelling a man to make his choice at the polls would be fully met.

With such a law, moreover, it would be practicable to carry the existing pro-

visions further and to render absolutely invalid any ballots not printed by the public authorities. It would also be practicable to prohibit workers from loitering on the streets, no matter at what distance from the polls, on election day. The paster would have to be marked just as the other ballot. Any man desiring assistance, whether illiterate, or merely unable to read English, could easily find in the various party headquarters men whom he could trust to do his marking for him, and he could then take the marked paster with him into the booth and paste it on the regular ballot, as is now possible with the pasters furnished by the various parties or candidates. The state's expense for printing would be no greater than it now is, since there would be but two ballots printed instead of probably half a dozen, as is now the case. This proposition would have completely met all of the reasons assigned by Governor Abbot of New Jersey for desiring that there should be an official ballot delivered to the voter on election day at the polls and another delivered to private parties before election day. The one delivered to private parties before election day would be an official paster. Under such circumstances the number of pasters used would be small, and would probably be entirely confined to the illiterate voters.

Clear headed ballot reformers understand thoroughly that under the constitution of this, and of probably most states, there must be provision of some sort for the illiterate voter. In some cases election officers are allowed to enter the booth with such a person, but this destroys the secrecy of the ballot. If a briber or intimidator were to furnish his victim with a marked official paster, he would have no means of identifying that paster afterward, especially if the law made provision that a constant supply of pasters should be kept within the private booths for the purpose of enabling any man who had accidentally spoiled his ticket to vote without applying for a new one. Under such circumstances the fact that an election officer might tell from its thickness that a ticket contained a paster would offer no evidence whatever that the paster was the one that the voter had promised to use.

#### THE ONLY FREE TRADERS.

A committee of the Union league club has framed an address in which it asks free traders how they would raise the \$400,000,000, which the committee alleges is necessary for the expenses of the federal government, if the tariff were abolished. We presume that the only answer of the so-called free traders to this is that they have no idea of abolishing the tariff. Practically this is the answer given by the New York Evening Post, which, in referring to the committee's declaration that a tariff is necessary, declares that it is not singular that the committee should favor this idea, "since all Americans except the Henry George single tax men are in favor of tariffs of one kind or another." The Post asks if the writer of the memorial is wasting "all this powder on the Henry George men," and goes on to say that this can hardly be the case, because the single tax advocates "are as much opposed to taxes on incomes and professions and to stamp duties as they are to tariffs; they are opposed to internal taxes on liquor and tobacco; they are even opposed to taxes on buildings; they are opposed to all taxes except on land values."

The single tax men have frequently had occasion to complain that the Post does not treat them with justice or fairness, but they will be disposed to forget past injuries in view of this handsome recognition of the fact that they are the



only free traders in America, and the only people with a definite plan of taxation who are prepared to answer such questions as the union league committee puts to free traders. We are glad that the Post has come to a clear comprehension of the single tax programme, and that it sees that when free trade comes the single tax is inevitable. Such an acknowledgment is a sufficient answer to the small and decreasing number of single tax men who cannot see what the abolition of the tariff has to do with our movement.

#### DENOUNCING "THE ONE TAX PARTY."

The National grange of the patrons of husbandry has recently adopted the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas, There is now reported within the United States a party calling themselves the "one tax party"—whose intention is to place all taxes upon real estate, or upon lands only; therefore

Resolved, That the National grange, believing that such taxation would be to increase the burdens of the farmers, and those who live by the farm, and would furthermore build up and establish privileged classes of moneyed men and personal property holders;

Resolved, That this National grange do hereby declare its condemnation of a movement which they believe to be both unjust and oppressive to the farmers, who are already the heaviest taxed of all other classes.

This is a great deal better than nothing at all. There is no "one tax party" in the United States, but there certainly is a single tax movement which gathers strength from day to day, and which certainly demands the careful consideration of the National grange and of every other organization of farmers.

The National grange seems to have just heard of this movement, and it begins by condemning it. Its condemnation may lead some of its members to study the question, and after they have studied the question they will discover, if they look into the subject carefully, that the lowest land values in the United States attach to agricultural land, and that if all revenues, local, state and national, were derived from a single tax on land values, exclusive of improvements, the farmer will have his burden lightened instead of increased, and taxation will fall more and more on the valuable lands of cities and the great mining monopolies that have been built up under the existing system. We congratulate the National grange on having begun to think. We hope that the process may continue until it thinks wisely.

#### "BRITISH GOLD."

Among the bills put through at the late session of the legislature of this state was one granting extensive privileges to the New York cable railway company. The daily papers indicate that the bill passed through the corrupt use of money. As to the truth of this charge THE STANDARD has no means of judging, but it is made by responsible papers, and thus far none of the men implicated have sought vindication by a libel suit.

Whether the bill was corruptly passed or not, it is a curious fact that its passage was either secured through bribery by "British gold" or the bill was passed in the interest of British capitalists. According to the Times, one of the directors of the new company on May 8 said: "We have all the money we want. It has been secured from an investment company in London, and there will be no trouble at all about going on with all the routes originally laid out, as the amount of capital arranged for will provide for every one of them."

From the standpoint of THE STANDARD there is, of course, no objection to British capitalists building any needed railways in New York and obtaining a fair profit on their capital, but the protectionists who are so desperately alarmed lest any "British gold" should be used in this

country, are placed in a singular attitude by the action of the republican legislature in passing such an act as the cable bill under these circumstances. The case becomes vastly worse if the current charges as to the influences behind the bill are well founded. Think of it, protectionists! Republican legislators in the great state of New York actually "bribed by British gold!"

#### TWENTY-THREE YEARS AGO.

"New America," by William Hepworth Dixon, published by J. P. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, in 1867, contains some observations that have a significance now that did not at that time apparently attach to them. Mr. Dixon then was able to point out that the relation of a French cook to an English butler or of a Swiss valet to his master was a thing unknown in the United States. This is no longer the case, though it is still true, as it was when Mr. Dixon wrote, that very few native Americans will consent to occupy a position that requires them to call any man master, or any woman mistress. The change has gone on steadily, however, from the conditions described by Mr. Dixon, and if he could revisit America to-day he would find in New York and other cities French cooks who bow obsequiously to butlers and liveried servants and coachmen who have no objection to calling the man who pays them, master, though they would still probably resent the mention of their employer as their master by any of their own companions. Mr. Dixon seems also to have observed the cause of the greater freedom here, for on page 248 he says:

"Sir," said to me a Minnesota farmer, "the curse of this country is that we have too much land;" a phrase which I have heard again and again among the iron masters of Pittsburg, among the tobacco planters of Richmond, among the cotton spinners of Worcester. Indeed, this wail against the land is common among men who, having mines, plantations, mills and farms, would like to have large supplies of labor at lower rates of wages than the market yields. There have been times in which a similar cry was raised in England, by the Norfolk farmers, by the Manchester spinners, by the Newcastle coal men. Those who want to get labor on the lowest terms must always be in favor of restricting the productive acreage of land. But whether a Minnesota farmer, a Pennsylvania miner, or a Massachusetts cotton spinner, may like it or dislike it, nobody can dispute the fact that the first impression stamped on the traveler's eye and brain in this great country is that of stupendous size.

Again, on page 250, he thus alludes to the great space then at the command of our people as follows:

Under the crystal roof in Hyde park, when the nations had come together in 1851, each bringing what it found to be its best and rarest to a common testing place, America was for many weeks of May and June represented by one great article—a vast unoccupied space. An eagle spread its wings over an empty kingdom, while the neighboring states of Holland, Belgium, Prussia and France were crowded like swarms of bees in their summer hives. Some persons smiled with mocking lips at the paper bird, brooding in silence above a mighty waste; but I for one never came from the thronging courts of Europe into that large allotment of space and light without feeling that our cousins of the west had hit, though it may have been by chance, on a very happy expression of their virgin wealth. In Hyde park, as at home, they showed that they had room enough and to spare.

Mr. Dixon wrote shortly after the war, while Andrew Johnson was president—about twenty-three years ago. Even at that time, though the Pacific railroad grants had already been made, land was still so accessible to the people that the fact was one of the most prominent that struck an intelligent observer from a foreign land. In the course of those twenty-three years, however, the land fit for use without a large previous expenditure of capital has been so completely monopolized that it no longer serves its old purpose of making our working people independent, and this very readily accounts for the growing disposition among the employed to use the old term, "master"

in addressing an employer. When the monopolization shall become complete this style of address will be the proper one. The men who own the earth are, and ever will be, the masters of those who can only exist upon it on such conditions as the owners impose.

A United States flag over a vacant space in an international exhibition would be no longer typical of the vast expanse of our vacant land. It would simply bear evidence to the destruction of our trade and commerce by a protective tariff.

#### PROGRESS THAT COUNTS.

The single tax is not only making steady progress, but it is making progress of the kind that counts. The letter from Mr. C. J. Buell of Minneapolis, on another page, shows that a partial application of the doctrine that land alone should be taxed has given great satisfaction to everybody except the land speculators of that city. The apparently innocent audacity with which the Evansville Courier, one of the leading democratic papers of Indiana, proposes that the single tax shall be established in that city by three progressive steps in as many years, and the extract from the Bloomington Leader, printed elsewhere, show that the idea is "in the air," and is commending itself to the minds of men, who have probably never read our literature, but to whom the idea of encouraging building and other improvements by ceasing to tax them comes as the simple solution of a vexed problem.

Another gratifying evidence of the pervasiveness of our doctrines, and of the rapidity with which we are moving toward their practical adoption, is found in a letter the single tax enrolment committee has just received from Michigan. The writer is one of the three members of the board of review and equalization of Grand Rapids, and in forwarding signed petitions says:

I, you will observe by the heading, am on a board that has all to do with taxes. It is needless then to say that the longer I serve on this board the more thoroughly convinced do I become of the soundness of the theory of the single tax. We have a number of enthusiastic workers and talkers in this building (the city hall). One of my converts, I am happy to say, is an old supervisor.

This shows real progress. One active worker in such a position as that held by the Grand Rapids correspondent of the enrolment committee can do more than a hundred men unfamiliar with methods of taxation and having no contact with those who control the present system. Our Washington letter, again, shows evidence of progress in congress and gives instances of practical work toward the gradual establishment of the single tax in two Maryland towns. A letter from Mr. C. F. Perry gives the details of important action taken by various organizations of workmen in Illinois looking toward practical work for ballot reform and single tax. In this city the Manhattan single tax club has appointed a congressional campaign committee to co-operate with other organizations in assuring the election of opponents to protection to congress. The work goes on most bravely.

#### THE PURPOSE OF SINGLE TAX CLUBS.

A communication printed elsewhere from J. C. Williams of Kansas City should have appeared last week, but was left over through an accident. We are entirely satisfied that Mr. Wasson was mistaken in declaring that Mr. Williams is a nationalist, and we think it probable that personal feeling had as much to do with the recent difficulty in Kansas City as questions of principle. It is the earnest desire of THE STANDARD to avoid any participation in local quarrels, where such unfortunately occur.

Of course if any real attempt were made to divert a single tax club into the sup-

port of any form of socialism the sympathies of THE STANDARD would be with those who resisted such a programme. The purpose of single tax clubs ought to be the advancement of the single tax, and they ought to admit to membership none who are not willing to work primarily for that end. When it comes to public meetings and debates, however, the case is different, and it may be interesting, and sometimes profitable, to encourage nationalists and other socialists to discuss the differences between them and single tax men. Whatever emphasizes the logical antagonism between the two systems is likely, in the long run, to put both in their true light before the public, and we think, to advance the single tax.

But while THE STANDARD's position is unmistakable in this matter, its management strongly desires to avoid the use of its columns for controversies. It cannot, at this distance, arrive at correct opinions where individuals differ, and therefore it will attempt to pronounce no judgments whatever. The plan of the St. Louis club of selecting one of its members to make a regular report of club news and letting the reporter be responsible to the club for the accuracy of his statements is an admirable one.

#### APPLYING THE SINGLE TAX.

Mr. Ogden's proposed plan for the application of the single tax to the land values in a city is carefully described and illustrated in his article printed elsewhere. It deserves careful study by all advocates of our principles. The time is perhaps not far distant when the question as to the method of applying the single tax will be one of immediate practical importance, and it is certainly not too soon to consider it.

We regret that Mr. Ogden should have preceded his description of the system by an argument in favor of the single tax, limited, as against the single tax, unlimited. We hope this fact will not prejudice any of our readers against his plan, for it is equally practicable under either theory. We do not agree with him that public improvements, alone, either create or gauge land values. Land is frequently held at a distance from public streets, yet it increases enormously in value, though its owners resist any attempt to increase their taxes by the extension of public improvements. It is true that the pressure of population toward such land is an important element in the rise in value, but such pressure is not fully indicated by the kind of buildings that the people thus pressing for access to other territory choose to erect on the territory that they occupy. This, of course, has its effect on land values, but it is not the cause of their increase.

Mr. Ogden undertakes to illustrate his idea by declaring that if "A" builds a fine house on a vacant block, he not only increases the value of other vacant lots but the value of that which he occupies for building purposes. He infers from this that to the extent of the increased value of the land that he occupies "A" would be subjected to a tax on his improvement. Mr. Ogden is mistaken. If the improvement alone were taxed, the valuation on it simply, as a building, would necessarily be lowered from year to year, though the land would continue to rise in value, while the building upon it was decaying. This demonstrates that it is not the erection of a building but the seizure of the land that creates the value. Through appropriating the site the builder has diminished the amount of land available for the use of others, and he has directed attention to the availability of the land. He has thus stimulated demand, and it is this demand that increases value. The builder might improve until the crack of doom,



but if he did not thereby attract more people to the locality, he would not increase the value of surrounding vacant land.

If "A" were a well known and successful land speculator and he were to buy a corner lot, on speculation, the mere fact that he regarded land in that portion of a town as a good investment would attract others, and thus increase the value of the adjacent lots, thereby increasing the value of his own lot without building at all. Furthermore, such a man might put up a very costly factory building—let us say for the manufacture of glue or fertilizer—and actually depreciate the value of land about him. He could get along without any roads except one he could make himself, and do a profitable business. After conducting such a business for years he could move his establishment elsewhere and thus permit land values to suddenly rise in his neighborhood. It is true that this rise would be immediately marked by the building of roads and the establishment of other public conveniences, but it would go on, nevertheless, before such roads were built through the pressure of population, which would be actually increased by making the neighborhood in question uninhabitable.

We do not care, however, to discuss the abstract question with Mr. Ogden, because we want our readers to give the most careful consideration to his practical plan. It seems to us that it would be very simple and effective, and it would unquestionably greatly facilitate the work of valuation. There would be no difficulty in arriving at the rental value of land in almost any block under Mr. Ogden's system, and that once arrived at any body of clerks, capable of working out problems in simple arithmetic, could easily arrive at the value of each particular lot, no matter what its size or shape. It would facilitate assessments under the existing system, so far as land values constitute a part of the valuation, leaving practically nothing to the individual judgment of the assessor except the estimate of the value of the buildings. After buildings are exempted from taxation, it seems to us that Mr. Ogden's plan would be very easy of application.

#### A PLAN TO APPLY THE SINGLE TAX.

If land values are created by the general community it is idle to say that an individual does not create any land value, for what is a community but an aggregation of individuals? It may be said that he can't create any land value by himself, but this is nothing, for the same thing can be said of the value of anything he may produce, unless the idea of exchange is eliminated and we mean by value, relative utility, in which sense an individual can produce land value by himself, for when he has cleared the land, cut a road, and dug a well, the relative utility of the land improved is greater to him than land not so improved.

And this is all that a community does to land. We speak of "land value regardless of improvements," but this is a paradox. Without improvements there is no relative land value. The coal lands of the Lehigh valley would be worth no more than the coal lands of Kansas if it were not for the large areas of improved land near them. And the coal lands of Kansas are worth less per acre than the farm lands. Railroads, wagon roads and paved streets are the permanent improvements that give a relative capacity to the lands rendered accessible by them, and this is true of all land, whether city lots, agricultural, forest or mineral land.

So there is one class of improvements which we must regard in estimating land value, viz., public improvements. The advantage of association to men is simply that this labor of land improvement, of reducing the earth to service, is in certain

particulars better performed and with far less cost to the individual by delegating these particulars to a few to administer them to all. If this were not so, men would not associate, and this is seen among savage tribes, where there is only a faint attempt at organization—they are positively individualistic, they do not understand the profit of organization, and so they do not organize.

So a community is simply an aggregation of individuals who find it profitable to have water distributed from a common reservoir; the roads made and preserved by a deputized engineer; the peace preserved by a delegation of their individual weakness to a concentration of power in a police system and courts of justice; the rudiments of learning taught in a common school, etc., etc.

That the individual in community effects the adoption and extension of all these improvements is apparent to any man who observes men and things.

If the reader of this article will reflect a moment he will remember perhaps the very man or men who first projected the Brooklyn bridge; perhaps he will recall the first movement toward better pavements; if he does he will at once associate a few names of men who urged this improvement; and so with lighting streets, organizing the police and fire departments. Who can imagine the thousands of "every day" citizens demanding such public improvements as a great water supply, elevated railroads, or underground rapid transit?

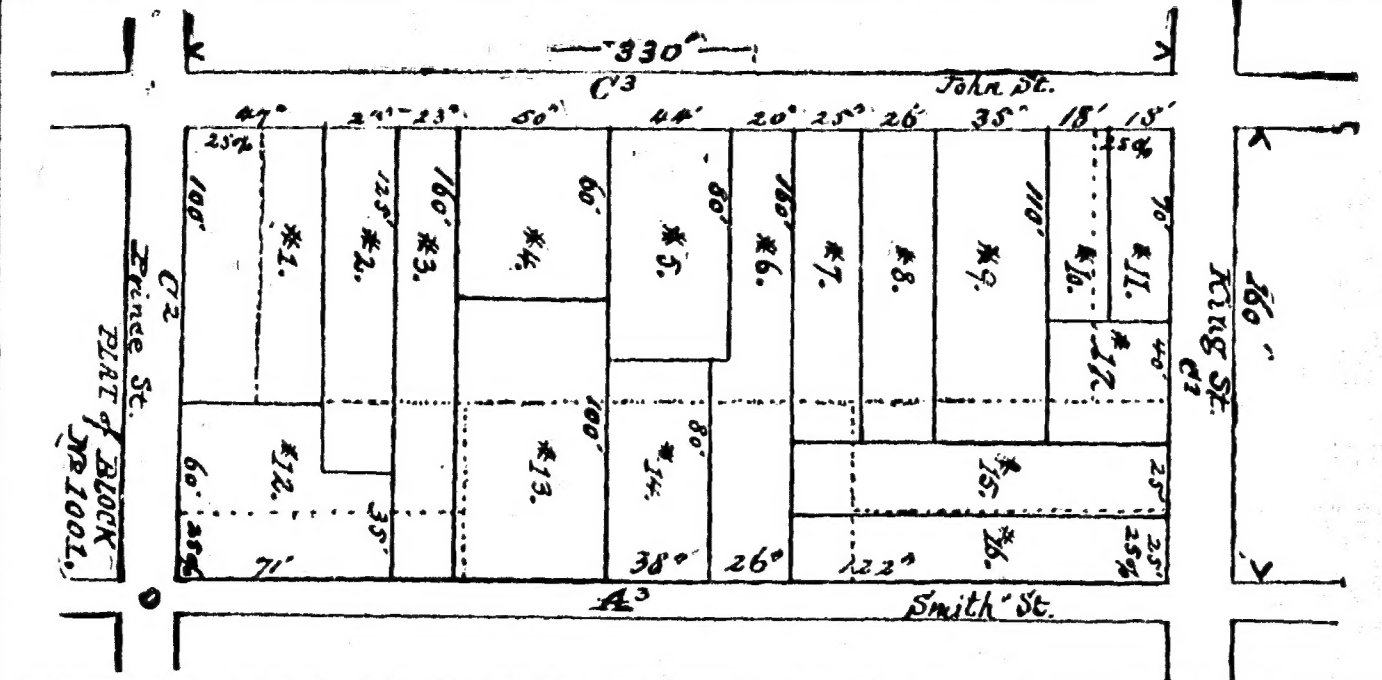
That the demands of the mass of the people are known to those who organize the great economics of social life does not affect the statement; the value of land is not occasioned by a community in proportion to numbers; but land value is occasioned by public improvements and individual demand, which demand is determined by the personal qualities of the individual.

The way to distinguish between the value created by the general community, and that value occasioned by the private individual, is by an examination into the merits of the single tax as a tax, and not as a mere expedient to abolish private ownership in land. If "a just tax is one the value of which is returned to the payer in services of government," then the tax each person should pay should be limited to the actual rental value occasioned by these services, and here the "limited" and the "unlimited" single taxers can agree—each can be "limited," and each "unlimited"—for justice insists that all the value occasioned by the community as a whole, shall be taken by the community, and that value, if any, which is occasioned by an individual, shall be retained by him.

Notwithstanding the irregular condition of real estate values, growing out of the anomalies of the existing system of taxation, such as are presented in our cities where frequently miserable houses disgrace the most valuable land, and fine buildings adorn the less convenient blocks, the values occasioned by the services of government can be easily distinguished from either the increase or the decrease of this value by the persons using the land.

The actual rental value, which is occasioned by the community, can be found by considering the value of the land, irrespective of all private improvements, either on it or surrounding it. For if any regard be had to any private improvements whatever, then the single tax would be a tax partly on improvements. To illustrate: If A builds a fine house on a block that is vacant and surrounded by vacant lots, and his improvement enhances the value of the land around him, then a tax which taxes vacant and improved land alike to its full rental value will be greater on both the vacant land and also on A's land than it was before he built upon it. Such a tax would not be laid irrespective of improvements, although it did tax both vacant and improved land alike.

On the other hand, consider the valuable land now covered with tenement houses right in the heart of the city per-



manently depreciating the land, for who will build a solitary fine house amid such surroundings?

But let a great conflagration like Chicago's sweep away several blocks of these obstructions, and what a change! In a few months the most beautiful section of the city has appeared on the ashes of the old tenements! To tax this land at the present depreciated market value of the respective lots would seem to agree with the waste of valuable privilege, but to tax it on a valuation of the location considered as bare land, unaffected, except by the services of government in the streets around it, would only be fair to the respective owners and to the general community.

This can easily be done by the following plan, which may be called the classification of land values. The materials necessary are: An official map of the city showing all streets and alleys, whether opened or paved, or simply prospective; an accurate description, or plat, of each block formed by streets and alleys, showing the respective lots with their dimensions, and a graded schedule of rental values per front foot, designating each class by a letter and number, as follows:

A 1-81.00	D 1-88.50	G 1-82.50	J 1-87.50
2-1.50	2-9.00	2-25.00	2-80.00
3-2.00	3-10.50	3-27.50	3-85.00
4-2.50	4-12.00	4-30.00	4-90.00
5-3.00	5-13.50	5-32.50	5-95.00
B 1-3.50	E 1-11.00	H 1-35.00	K 1-110.00
2-4.00	2-12.50	2-37.50	2-120.00
3-4.50	3-14.00	3-40.00	3-130.00
4-5.00	4-15.50	4-42.50	4-140.00
5-5.50	5-17.00	5-45.00	5-150.00
C 1-6.00	F 1-16.00	I 1-50.00	L 1-160.00
2-6.50	2-17.50	2-52.50	2-170.00
3-7.00	3-19.00	3-55.00	3-180.00
4-7.50	4-20.50	4-57.50	4-190.00
5-8.00	5-22.00	5-60.00	5-200.00

Let each block formed by streets and alleys on the map be numbered in order and be known by such number. With the exception of the schedule of classification, the materials necessary are already prepared in every modern city. The numbering of the blocks on the map would be very simple.

The valuation by front feet is a common practice among real estate dealers, and the rental or annual value is always the basis for determining the selling value.

The fact that the single tax would not affect the rental value of land, while the selling value would be greatly reduced, and perhaps disappear entirely, argues the use of the first as the proper universal basis of the single tax.

A commission of real estate experts, appointed by the mayor, shall proceed to classify the sides of every block on the map, and shall mark each side of each block with a letter and number, which shall represent the rental value per front foot on the land fronting on the street or alley, and for a uniform depth of 100 feet from the building line; they shall also designate the extra percentage of rental value to be added to the class of the frontage, of say twenty-five feet, at each corner of a block. The experts to consider the value of the land as though it were bare and surrounded by blocks of bare land. The experts shall only classify the respective blocks, and they shall not be influenced by length, or depth, or shape of the respective blocks; except, where the depth of any block is more than 200 feet, they shall class the remaining portion, after the respective sides are classed, separately, and mark such portion with an appropriate letter and number.

When the entire area of the city shall have been classed, a copy of the map as marked by the experts shall be given to

clerks, who shall apportion the rental value of each lot on each block as classed.

To establish uniformity of assessment of the various lots, it will be necessary to adopt an arbitrary rule to apply to all blocks, whether in one piece or divided into several lots of different depths and shapes.

The necessity of such a rule is most plainly seen in Baltimore, where the title lines often cross the blocks obliquely at various angles, and where there is no uniformity of depth of lots except in the newly improved sections. This is true of every city to a greater or less extent.

To meet this difficulty a depth of 100 feet from the building line shall constitute the portion of the block to which any class shall apply, provided, that the highest classed side shall be apportioned first, and the sides of the remaining portion shall be classed successively in order descending—the class of each site to extend for 100 feet in depth, or less, if the depth of the block, or of the portion not included in a higher classed side, is less than 100 feet; in which case the class of such portion is to be reduced by one per cent for every foot wanting to make 100 feet in depth. When the blocks are classed and the actual value of each block is known, then the value of each lot will be known by the class of the portion or portions of the block containing it.

The above plat of block No. 1,001 describes by dotted lines the portions related to the sides as classed without reference to the lots that may be on it. The additional percentage for extra classed value of corners is put at twenty-five per cent on each corner. The example is, of course, hypothetical. The following is a summary of the rental value of each portion classed and of the whole block:

John street side, 280 ft. at \$7.00—	\$1,960.00
" " " " 50 " " 8.75—	437.50
Prince " " " 35 " " 6.50—	227.50
" " " " 25 " " 8.125—	203.125
King " " " 35 " " 6.00—	210.00
Smith " " " 25 " " 7.50—	187.50
" " " " 150 " " 1.20—	150.00

\$3,381.625

Having found the rental value of the block as a whole, we will now apportion each lot its respective rental value.

#### BLOCK No. 1,001.

Lot.	No.	1, 25 ft. at \$8.75	—\$218.75	Rental value as classed.
	22	" " 7.00	—154.00	\$372.75
	No. 2, 24	" " 7.00	—168.00	
	24	" " 1.625	—39.00	207.00
	No. 3, 23	" " 7.00	—161.00	
	23	" " 2.275	—52.325	
	23	" " 2.03125	—46.71875	260.04375
	No. 4, 50	" " 4.20	—	210.00
	No. 5, 44	" " 5.60	—	246.40
	No. 6, 20	" " 7.00	—140.00	
	20	" " 1.20	—31.20	
	6	" " 1.40	—8.40	179.60
	No. 7, 25	" " 7.00	—175.00	
	25	" " .20	—4.40	
	3	" " .60	—1.80	181.20
	No. 8, 26	" " 7.00	—182.00	
	26	" " .60	—15.60	197.60
	No. 9, 35	" " 7.00	—245.00	
	35	" " .60	—21.00	266.00
	No. 10, 11	" " 4.90	—53.90	
	11	" " 6.125	—42.875	96.775
	No. 11, 18	" " 6.125	—	110.25
	No. 12, 25	" " 5.76875	—144.21875	
	10	" " 4.615	—46.15	
	25	" " 3.055	—76.375	260.74375
	No. 13, 6	" " 2.275	—13.65	
	6	" " 2.03125	—12.1875	
	44	" " 1.20	—52.80	
	50	" " 2.80	—140.00	218.0275
	No. 14, 38	" " 1.40	—53.20	
	38	" " 1.20	—45.00	98.80
	No. 15, 25	" " 6.00	—150.00	
	25	" " .44	—11.00	161.00
	No. 16, 25	" " 7.50	—187.50	
	25	" " .44	—11.00	198.50
	No. 17, 11	" " 2.10	—23.10	
	25	" " 3.025	—65.625	
	10	" " 2.16	—21.60	110.325

\$3,381.625

The requisite amount of money needed to meet the expenses of the government



being known, it would only be necessary to find the proportion of the total rental value of all the blocks needed to make up the required amount. The exact proportion of each person would be shown on the plat of the block containing his lot, and the total rental values of the respective lots on a block, by the rule I have given, would equal the rental value of the block taken as one piece of land.

The simplicity of this plan is apparent; it does away with discriminations which could not be prevented if each separate lot on each block was assessed by itself.

A small commission of experts could pass upon the entire work of classification, and so insure a uniform type of valuation, which would be impossible where the work of assessing every lot separately would be done by a large board of assessors, dividing the work among several sub-boards. It has been estimated by several real estate experts in Baltimore that the city could be classed on this plan in about three weeks' time, and at an expense of about two (\$2,000) thousand dollars. An assessment of each lot separately would cost about \$65,000 and require about six months' time. This system would admit of annual classification, which would tend to increase the efficiency of the experts, and also meet the rapid changes in value that would occur immediately after the adoption of the single tax.

WM. J. OGDEN.

NOTE.—The objections published in THE STANDARD of April 9 by Mr. Thomas B. Preston are partly answered by himself when he states that under the single tax "no one would pay any less taxes if he should not choose to avail himself of such services, nor would he pay any more." As this is exactly my argument, it replies very well to his criticism about the man who might not choose to use the city fire department, public schools, and other services of government. I have not said that persons should be exempt from paying for the privilege of using the services of government, because they do not choose to use them.

The value of the privilege to use the streets or roads, which include every service of government, is all the value that attaches to bare land, whether city, agricultural, forest or mineral land. "The distinction between individual and social services of government," made by Mr. Preston, is not clear to me. The post office does not "carry a letter for the postage paid" in the sense he uses that phrase. The government sells a stamp which contains the privilege of having a letter weighing one-half ounce carried anywhere in the United States, even though it costs the government more than \$1 to carry it. If the purchaser of the stamp only uses it to mail a letter where the government can carry it for one-tenth of one cent, he does not pay for an individual service "for his sole benefit"—he, in fact, pays for a stamp only, or the expressed privilege to use the service of government to any point within the jurisdiction of that government.

Again, the privilege to use the mail is a value in itself that attaches to land, even to vacant land.

W. J. O.

#### CAPITALISTIC RANT.

Rant, Mr. Printer, please make it rant. Quite possibly you may have been figuring on the problem how you are to pay the increased house rent which your landlord has requested for the next year, and set it up *rent*. But the thing I speak of, though less noticed, is quite as characteristic of the money aristocracy as their proclivity for exacting a portion of their fellow creatures' earnings under the name of rent. We are forever hearing of the "rant" of labor; let us draw the picture of a capitalistic rant. He is usually a man who has "come into" money through the death of some female relative, before he was old enough to encounter the necessity of making his own living, and who, having outgrown the period of the "golden spoon," devotes himself assiduously, for his life work, to those services of inestimable worth to his fellow men, the "managing an estate," collecting rents, making deposits in bank, cutting off coupons, etc. After spending some years in this arduous and immensely useful work—I should say some days, rather, in each year—he begins to feel that he is a very hard worked man and a very useful member of society, indeed, quite a philanthropist, and feels impelled to expatiate upon the labor question, with the view of being still more useful. About this time he begins to cultivate the art of ranting. A fine specimen of his rant at this early stage of its growth is often heard in his remark that there is no labor question—that if everybody would go to work, and be contented with his

lot, and save up his money, the world would go very well *then*. He delights in examples of compound interest and rings the changes on

A penny saved is twopence clear,  
A pin a day's a groat a year.

and shows that if the workingmen would only save the money they spend on tobacco, in a few years they could afford to loaf all the time (and smoke the finest Havanas)—until the poor demagogue wonders why the workingman wasn't rich before tobacco-using was invented! Another favorite bit of his rant is that no man need lack for work: if he does, it's because he's either lazy or vicious. "The tramps go around as they do because they like that kind of life" (it must be delightful, indeed, to walk around in the snow and the slush with no socks or underclothes on, only a pair of "holey" shoes, ditto trousers, and double ditto coat—such a breezy, independent life!) The capitalist rant is fond of declaring, as he sips his glass of claret at dinner, that the confounded workingmen would be all right if they would only stop drinking—"there wouldn't be any labor problem, you know, if it wasn't for the beer they drink." He hears a talk by some professor of the science of saying politic things about economics, and he thereupon straightway declares to his cronies: "Why, gentlemen, the whole science of political economy is against the idea that we are not living under the ideal system of employment. There's no more use in trying to change things than there would be in trying to stop the tides—these things are the result of natural law." His favorite paper is the Evening Pillar, and therefore (as most of his ideas are borrowed—without interest) he doesn't hesitate to rant about the "labor demagogues" as responsible for all the trouble—"fellows who are naturally lazy, and get up all this agitation in order to have an excuse for being supported in idleness by the blind fools whom they hoodwink into the belief that they are not getting all they ought to have." He sees something in the reviews (for he takes the reviews, since it's become fashionable and looks "literary") about evolution, catches on to the phrase "struggle for existence," and then proceeds to rant about the "mighty law of the survival of the fittest, which proves that some must be down and some up, and that the natural condition of human beings is for every man's hand to be against every other man. That's evolution," he says, "and you can't go back on evolution"—forgetting, or rather not knowing, that evolution, among mankind, is bringing us to the time when the competition shall be for the help of our fellow creatures, not their hurt.

The capitalistic rant gets in his choicest work in ranting about the men whose sympathy with the majority of the people is strong enough to induce them to propose plans for the better distribution of the wealth which the people create, and he waxes eloquent in ignorant denunciation of theories which he is too lazy or too prejudiced to examine, and for information concerning which he goes again to his favorite newspaper. "What's this I hear about dividing up the land?" he says anent the "unearned increment" proposition. "The man must be crazy to think of such a thing!" and he dismisses the matter as not worthy his important attention. "Crazy," "lunatic" and "madman" are his favorite rant words in talking about the advocates of the single tax. When his opinion is asked of the philosophy of anarchism, he gets out his Webster and reads the definition of "anarchy" as "a state of society where the laws are not efficient, and individuals do what they please with impunity," and declares: "Faugh! the anarchists are the craziest cranks yet! I don't want to know anything more about them." His principle in acquiring knowledge of the labor question is to look for it only to those sources which he thinks will confirm his prejudices, and if perchance one of his pet newspapers has in an unguarded moment betrayed a gleam of fairness or intelligence or sympathy with the masses, he writes, "Stop my paper! I can't

stand such misrepresentations." If his pastor should so far forget himself and the precarious nature of his job as to omit the usual platitudes about holiness and charity and the poor, and, constrained by the evidence of injustice and cruelty in modern industrial life, say some words from his heart about the practical relations of the rich and the poor, employers and employed, and fail to do it in the most scrupulously careful and complimentary way, so that the great man can ride home feeling "good" over the sermon—let the pastor beware; his patron will probably either withdraw from the church or have the minister withdrawn. But perhaps the crowning achievement of the capitalistic rant is his bunkum about the "glorious independence of the workingmen of America, where every man is every other man's equal," while in fact he would immediately find a pretext for discharging any of his workmen who should speak to him as he speaks to them, who should omit the "Yes, sir" and "No, sir" and the "Mister," as he himself habitually omits them. Paraphrasing the lamented Ward's remark about the Shaker, we may say that without doubt our capitalist has no living equal as a rant.

A LABOR DEMAGOGUE.

#### OUR WASHINGTON LETTER.

THE GREAT DEBATE—THE SCENE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WHEN MR. MCKINLEY AROSE—ROGER Q. MILLS'S SPEECH—OBSERVATIONS FROM THE GALLERY—MR. BRECKINRIDGE'S STORY OF THE MAN WHO HAD A BENEFIT—THE SINGLE TAX IDEA UP AGAIN IN CONGRESS—MORE AND PLAINER SPEAKING—MR. PAYSON'S AMENDMENT AND THE DISCUSSION THAT ENSUED—NOTABLE EVENTS IN HYATTSVILLE AND LAUREL, MARYLAND.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 12.—Just before Mr. McKinley arose in his place in the house of representatives to open the long-heralded debate on his tariff bill, it was discovered that there was not a quorum of the members present, and a "call of the house" had to be made. Even when Mr. McKinley took the floor there was but a slim attendance, and the galleries, which on every occasion of excitement or special interest are filled, presented many an empty seat. During the whole of the two hours which he spoke there were but few interruptions and little applause, and the galleries made no response whatever. Only a small part of the members on the democratic side gave any heed to the speaker's utterances, and not a few of the republicans present were engaged in boisterous conversation, in writing letters or in some other business purely personal.

Nor did Mr. Mills, who arose to answer Mr. McKinley, fare much better. Mr. McKinley himself left the chamber, followed by a crowd of his colleagues effusively proffering their congratulations, and when he returned an hour later he paid but scant courtesy to Mr. Mills, and, indeed, as if oblivious of the fact that anyone was speaking, fell into pleasant conversation with members who from time to time dropped down into seats beside him.

Since then the "great debate" has been simply a speaking to empty benches. The night sessions are farces, at times not more than a score of members being present. Many of the speeches are written, and one speaker after another gets up and talks "to Buncombe," as a North Carolina member, who came from Buncombe, once said in explaining why he was making a speech which nobody in the house cared anything about.

To a close observer two causes are apparent for this lack of interest in and out of congress—one, that the action of the house and the dividing of the parties is a foregone conclusion; and the other, that that portion of public opinion which favors a change is tired of hearing the weak little cry of "tariff reform," and is ready for something stronger. The people have advanced while the politicians are still in much the same position they held two years ago. Evidence of this undiminished though changed attention was given when Mr. Mills left his figures, of which most persons might have had much distrust, as Mr. McKinley's speech had been made up very largely of them, and got down to abstract principles, which appealed to reason and which everyone could understand. Then it was that conversation ceased and heads bent forward.

This change of public opinion is well illustrated by a story that Breckenridge of Arkansas tells of a man in his town. This man belonged to the theatrical profession and was tendered a benefit by his friends. There was a very large audience and a good deal of money was taken in at the box office;

but each actor took his expenses out of the receipts, and as there were a good many actors very little money was left. Next morning the beneficiary was going around with anything but a smiling countenance. "What's the matter, Billie?" asked some one. "What's the matter?" said he. "Say, look here; next time I have a benefit I have less benefit and more cash."

The Columbus park bill, which, as I have more than once explained in these letters to THE STANDARD, proposes the purchase of two thousand acres of land northwest of the city of Washington for the establishment of a public park, has come up again in the house and has failed to pass. But the vote will be reconsidered at an early date and the friends of the bill will make every effort to get it through.

The important point about this bill is the amendment made in the committee of the whole on motion of Mr. Payson of Illinois, providing for the appointment of five commissioners whose duty it shall be to "ascertain as nearly as possible the cost of the lands" for the proposed park, "including expenses," and to "apportion the said costs upon the lands, lots and blocks situated in the District of Columbia especially benefited by reason of the location and improvement of said park as near as may be in proportion to the benefits resulting to such real estate." Another motion offered by Mr. Payson further amended the bill so that half the expense remaining after the benefited lands had been assessed should be borne by the District of Columbia and half by the United States, though he explained, in answer to a question on this point, that in his judgment if the commission did its duty and assessed "upon the property benefited" \* \* \* "the amount thus realized ought to equal the cost of the property taken." Mr. Blount of Georgia asked "how far removed from the line of the park property may be the private property which is to be regarded as benefited?" Mr. Payson answered that there was no restriction with this respect. "The commission may extend the assessment all over the district if it chooses." Speaking further on this point, he said: "The principle I have endeavored to incorporate in the bill by this amendment is that wherever any property in the district, however situated, is directly benefited by reason of the location of this improvement, that property shall be assessed to the extent of those direct benefits, and the money thus obtained be used toward paying the cost of the improvement. How far removed from the park any property thus benefited might be would depend upon the topographical situation, etc. The question is left to the judgment of the commission, whose action may be revised by the court. Suppose that a man owns a piece of property, distant, we will suppose, a quarter of a mile from the park, and that piece of property is worth to day \$1,000. Now, if by reason of the expenditure made by the government in this great public improvement this man's property should become, in the judgment of the commission, worth \$2,000, the direct benefit thus arising to the property would be assessed against it to assist in paying for the proposed improvement."

Mr. Clements of Georgia did not seem to understand the significance of the amendment, and thought the proposal was to put half the estimated cost of \$1,200,000 against the District of Columbia appropriations, which, he said, would make a deficit for the district to meet with future appropriations. In his reply, explaining what was proposed, Mr. Atkinson of Pennsylvania said:

The secretary of the South park commission of Chicago says that the immediate effect of the location of the Chicago parks was to double and quadruple the value of property, and the increased value was imposed upon the adjoining lots, to the best interests of the city. The Boston commission, in their report on parks, say that the Back bay park, which was given as an illustration, is no tax upon the city at large, but the increased taxation on surrounding property pays the cost. The increase of values is upon the land alone, and does not include the buildings. Now, I take the position, and it is the position taken by the commissioners of the District of Columbia in their annual report, that the enhancement of the values of land alone, not only alongside of this park but in the district generally, will more than make up this annual charge to the people in the increased value for taxation on the property in the district.

Mr. Kerr of Iowa recalled a remark made by Mr. Atkinson that if the land in question were not purchased at once a higher price would have to be paid hereafter. "Well, sir," said Mr. Kerr, "if we have to pay larger prices hereafter than we have to pay now, I say the Lord have mercy on the poor people of this district. The prices have got so far beyond reason now that a poor man has a very poor chance to buy a home, and I think no additional action on the part of congress ought to be taken to 'boom' the real estate market and still further increase the price of



property in the district. I think this measure is somewhat improved by the amendment by the gentlemen from Illinois (Mr. Payson), but I am fearful of that amendment."

Mr. Hemphill of South Carolina set Mr. Kerr right as to the errors he had fallen into by explaining that it had been endeavored "to frame a bill that would not subject the people of the district or the people of the United States to the payment of an unjust sum of money—certainly not enhance the value of real estate for owners." Under the amendment offered by Mr. Payson "any real estate" which might be "enhanced in value to the extent of one dime" would "have to pay that amount toward the purchase of this park." Thus any man who might have "undertaken to speculate in real estate," would, under the amendment, "be precluded from making any money."

Mr. Adams of Illinois said he did not own a foot of land in the district and that he knew almost nothing of real estate values here, but that he knew from personal experience how these assessments work. "If this land costs \$1,200,000, there will be found \$1,200,000 of special benefit, and the money to come out of the treasury of the district or the general treasury of the United States will be a merely nominal amount." Continuing, Mr. Adams said:

The gentleman from Pennsylvania mentioned the South park of Chicago. In regard to that park, the case, as I know, was what I have just stated. It was so also in regard to the other great parks of Chicago. In every case, however much the land cost, the benefit was assessed upon that property which could most easily bear the benefit. On the immediate margin of the park land was assessed \$14 a foot; back a quarter of a mile, \$8 a foot, and back another quarter of a mile, \$1 a foot. Thus the burden was so distributed that no one felt it severely. The speculator who owned the high-priced property adjoining the park could not complain, although obliged to pay \$10 or \$15 per front foot, and the party farther away from the park could not complain, for his burden was so much less.

Mr. Kerr of Iowa—In that case was it not provided that the whole expense should be paid by assessment?

Mr. Adams—No. Under the constitution of my state you cannot compel the property holders to pay a sum exceeding the amount of special benefit. But the special benefit to the adjacent property is so great the practical effect is that almost the entire burden is laid upon the shoulders of those who can bear it very easily indeed. I know that in North Chicago, where I reside, the burden for Lincoln park was heavy on property facing the park; but back half a mile from the park where the poorer people live it was small, and as they enjoy the privilege of going to that park every week day and every Sunday they were glad to pay the nominal assessment, while the holders of high priced property were very glad to pay a substantial assessment. That is the way it will be here.

Mr. Blount—Was the whole expense paid by assessment?

Mr. Adams—Almost all.

There was little more debate and Mr. Payson's amendment was adopted without a division. It was when the bill was reported out of the committee of the whole to the house, and the question of its passage taken, that the adverse vote came. The vote stood, yeas, 78; nays, 88.

Mr. Payson says he hopes the bill will be got through congress and become a law, as it will be "an interesting experiment." "If it should prove," said he, "that that value which comes to land by reason of this public improvement can be made to meet the expense of the improvement, other improvements may be made in the same way; and in addition to this an important precedent be set for other things."

This much for Washington. In the two little suburban towns of Hyattsville and Laurel in Maryland there has been notable progress of late. Hyattsville has a population of 800 inhabitants. Two years ago an effort was made to bond the town. Mr. Jackson H. Ralston, who is a thorough single tax man, proposed as a condition that all taxes to meet the bonds should be made to fall on land values. The people who were most anxious to have the bonds issued, and who expected to receive the most benefit from the transaction, found these terms very objectionable and refused to accept them, whereas Mr. Ralston and the others who were looking to the interest of the whole town, and not of a class or set, were not willing to issue the bonds unless on this condition. The result was that no bonds appeared and the interested parties were so infuriated that, upon his election as town commissioner a year later after strenuous opposition to him as a single tax man, they talked seriously of holding a public meeting and requesting Mr. Ralston to resign. Cooler heads among them prevented this, however. Since then the work of education has been quietly going on, and such a change has been brought about that Mr. Ralston has just been re-elected town commissioner by a large vote, and in the absence of opposition, based upon his economic principles. Other members of the

board are believed to be favorably disposed toward the single tax. By a recent act of the legislature, Hyattsville is now permitted to assess and collect taxes for self-support, and is no longer dependent upon the county assessment. Mr. Ralston says this has awakened a lively interest in the taxation question, and he thinks a mild measure to begin with, such as raising the assessment of land and making a partial exemption of improvements, say \$500 of value, will be very popular and will be readily adopted. This is the plan which has found easy favor in Laurel. Laurel is a town of 1,500 or 2,000 inhabitants, and is but twelve miles distant from Hyattsville, so that what takes place in one town is discussed in the other, and they act upon each other. Mr. Jesse Smallwood, one of the three assessors, is a single tax man who is doing what he can to bring his principles into practice. Two weeks after he had taken his office he had added \$300,000 to the former taxable basis of \$500,000 on land values, and he is now urging the exemption of \$500 of the value of improvements from taxation. The Laurel Democrat has pronounced this a fair proposition and one that would be beneficial to the town, so that it is very probable that it will be adopted. In this way the camel gets his head into the tent. His body will soon follow.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

Postmaster Van Cott is going to strengthen the republican machine in this city at all hazards. Branches of the Lincoln club of the Seventh assembly district, of which Mr. Van Cott was for years the head, are being formed in the other districts of the city, and post office employees are being dragged into becoming members, whether they will or not.

Generally the first intimation the postal employe has that there is such an organization in his assembly district is a letter, addressed to him, saying that on such and such a date, at such and such a place, he was unanimously elected a member. A day or two after he is informed that a meeting of the club is to be held, and that he is "required" to be present. The employe's curiosity is aroused at the impudence of this notice, and he attends the meeting in order to find out about it, which he does to his satisfaction, or dissatisfaction, as the case may be. To allude to a specific case:

The Lincoln club of the Fourteenth assembly district has just been organized by Mr. "Buck" Daly, a notorious republican heeler of this district. All the postal employes in that district have been elected to membership. Last week they were summoned to a meeting and addressed by "Buck." He told them that, presuming them to be followers of the G. O. P., they had been honored with an election; that they probably appreciated that honor; that the dues were so much, which would be used in furnishing and maintaining a club house; that in order to strengthen the party they all loved so dearly they would be required to pay in, in addition to their dues, a sum equal to at least one per cent of the salaries paid them by a beneficent government; that he knew that all the postal employes were not republicans, by a long shot, but that crime would be overlooked if the dues and assessments were promptly paid; that the club would endeavor to "protect" all members in good standing, but that, of course, such employes as refused membership in the club or did not respond when called on for that one per cent, would have to take their chances in the event of their getting into trouble with the post office authorities. In conclusion he desired them to understand that they were perfectly free to decide for themselves in this matter, but that the name of the financial secretary was Mr. So-and-so, and his address was so-and-so. Mr. "Buck's" address was not exactly in these words, but the meaning he intended to convey is preserved.

There has been great excitement among the postal employes since the organization of these Lincoln clubs has begun. Among the clerks and carriers are men of all political creeds—republicans, democrats, single taxers, etc.; and they feel that, having met all the civil service requirements of the post office department, they should be left to think as they please, particularly so long as they do their work properly. But it would seem that this is not to be the case. Already, men in the service who have declined to accept the honor of membership in the Lincoln clubs are beginning to feel the displeasure of their superior officers. Mr. "Buck" Daly's veiled threat in his address is beginning to be carried out at the various postal stations, and as a consequence the employes are

largely flocking in to the clubs. There are, however, many high spirited men in the post office department who feel that it would be degrading to their manhood to join a club or assist a political organization to which they are opposed; and the probabilities are that they will resign from the department rather than submit.

This feeling is especially strong among the single tax men in the post office, who, being free traders, are opposed to the republican policy of protection.

The situation is a delicate one. The clerks and carriers are as a rule poor men, many of them with families to support. Times are hard. To give up their places through principle may be very patriotic; but in view of the large number of unemployed about us, it would be very unwise. Positions worth from \$600 to \$1,000 a year are not picked up every day, and we do not want to see any more single taxers than possible walking the streets looking for work where work is so hard to find.

In answer to a correspondent, who has given us these facts, and who asks what he ought to do under the circumstances, we would say:

Do not act rashly. You are earning the money you receive, and are entitled to continue to do so. Any attempt to coerce you into supporting the republican party is a distinct offence against the law, if assisted by a public officer. Hold on to your position and discharge your duties faithfully. Yield as far as your conscience will permit to the petty tyranny of these blackmailing scamps, but keep memoranda and gather evidence as to their methods. Remember them when you enter the secret apartment at the polls and vote against the party that they represent. If all yielding consistent with manhood fails, take your discharge and insist on reasons for it. If a dozen of you are discharged for failure to contribute to the republican campaign fund, you will among you have enough memoranda and evidence to put every person engaged in the conspiracy in jail. Whatever you do, do not get angry and resign. That is what the conspirators want you to do.

The London Star of April 23 calls attention to "a grim method" THE STANDARD has "of drawing attention to those terrible inequalities of social fortune which live and thrive under a republic almost as luxuriantly as under an effete monarchy," through the medium of "Society Notes," of which the Star prints a column. THE STANDARD has no patent on this method of showing the deep poverty which rears its head amid the existing boundless luxury, and suggests that if such a great daily newspaper as the Star—printed in the home of royalty, aristocracy and landlordism—would prepare such a column, the effect would be far reaching.

The Printers' Journal, which is printed by the typographical union of St. Louis, says that the German compositors of that city have made a demand for eight hours, and will get it, because "there are not enough members of the craft in the city at present to meet the demand."

C. F. Cole of Niles, Mich., has invented a new game of cards, which he calls "The tariff campaign." Sixty neatly printed cards are used in the game, each containing a statistical statement of some fact, or facts, relative to the industrial and commercial interests of the country. Four cards are marked "Senate," and are numbered thus: 10, 20, 22, 32, the sum of which is equal to the number of the members in the senate. Four cards are marked "Congress," and are numbered thus: 125, 85, 70, 50, the sum of which is equal to the number of representatives in congress, 330. Two cards are marked "Electors," and are numbered thus: 200, 314, the sum of which is equal to the number of members of the electoral college. Two cards are marked "President," two cards are marked "Vice-President," space is left at the top of those cards for the purpose of inserting the names of candidates for this office. The above fourteen cards, are called representative cards. Forty-six cards bear statistical and other authentic statements of interest and value to those who have not given the question of protection much thought. The rules for playing the game are inclosed with each set of cards. Mr. Cole's idea is that a great deal of valuable information can be disseminated by this game. Parties desiring the cards can address him as to price and further particulars.

Edinburgh, Scotland.—Under the name of "Inhabited House Duty," a government tax of nine pence per £1 of the yearly rent is levied on the occupiers of houses in the United Kingdom. The chancellor of the exchequer, in his annual statement, submitted to parliament this month, proposes to reduce

the tax to four pence per £1 on houses under £60 of annual rent, as a means of relieving the poorer classes. The rent of a house, of course, includes ground rent, and as the tax is levied on the gross rental, I contend that the reduction will relieve the landlords to that extent and raise the ground value beside, so that occupiers will in the long run derive no benefit. I wrote to several members of parliament and asked them to oppose the reduction unless a corresponding addition is made to the rate on the ground value. An ex-member of a liberal government, recognized as an authority on financial questions, replies that he cannot admit the truth of my contention. Another M. P. says that my reasoning is economically sound, but that a considerable time would elapse before the rise in the land value absorbed the reduction of duty, and that the proposal is the precursor of the total abolition of the inhabited house duty.

Would you kindly give your views on this question?

J. A. C.

The reduction of that portion of the tax that now falls on ground rent will unquestionably benefit the owner of the land. The rate of rent is not fixed by a consideration of the sum paid in taxation, but by the competition of tenants for the use of land. If they are willing to pay the present rate and "the inhabited house duty" in addition, they can pay that much after "the inhabited house duty" is removed. Competition between them will inevitably raise the rent to that extent. This is true whether the reduction in the amount demanded is made by the government or otherwise. It is well illustrated by an occurrence that took place a few years ago in this city. A workman who wanted for his family more room than he could afford to hire down town went to the northern end of this island and found an apartment that suited him, for which the agent demanded a monthly rental of \$16. The workman looked about further, and after a week or so went back to the agent and said he would take the \$16 apartment. The agent demanded \$18, on the ground that the elevated railroad company had meanwhile reduced its fare from ten cents to five cents. As the distance was so great that the workman could not use the surface road, he had in estimating what he could pay for rent allowed twenty cents a day for car fare. He indignantly asked the agent what he had had to do with reducing fares on the "L." The agent admitted that he had had nothing to do with it, but insisted that nevertheless the apartment was worth that much more, and that he could get it. He claimed in fact that he was generous in not exacting more. "You have got to ride up and down town twenty-five days in each month," he said to the workman. "You expected to pay for this twenty cents a day or \$5 a month. The change in fare reduces this to \$3.50 a month, and I only charge you \$2 more. You save, you see, fifty cents a month." "Yes," said the workman, "I see. I see that no matter what happens that promises advantage to me, the landlord takes it all." That experience made a staunch single tax man out of that workman. Every English and Scotch tenant will discover that the same thing will happen to him if the reduction in "the inhabited house duty" is made. The occupant must always pay for rent the price caused by competition for occupancy. This goes to the landlord. If the government taxes the landlord heavily, he must pay heavily, for having already exacted from the tenant all that the land is worth, he can get no more out of him. If the government reduces its tax the landlord alone benefits, for the competitive value of the privilege of holding the land will remain the same.

So far as the tax on the building is concerned, the owner of the building, and not the tenant, will enjoy that benefit only until competition among builders, in view of the increased profits thus assured, compels the building owner to be satisfied with his former rate of profit and to give up the reduction to the tenant. This can only happen, however, in case competition, through the erection of new buildings, is possible. If all of the land is occupied, or held out of use, the landlord will finally obtain the benefit of the reduction in the building tax. It is easy to see why this is so—and necessarily so. Suppose a tenant in Edinburgh now pays an annual rent of £50, and in addition 9d. per £1 "inhabited house duty." His real rent is £51 17s. 6d. That is the price which he must pay for the privilege of occupying that house. If he does not pay it some one else will, so long as other equally desirable houses cannot be had for less than that. No reduction in the tax on land value will tend to cause more houses to be built, but will, on the contrary, make it more profitable to hold land out of use, and thus retard building. Under these circumstances the tenant will continue to pay £51 17s. 6d., and the landlord will take his own share of the 18s. 8d. saved by the reduction, and ultimately compel the owner of the building to give him his share also.



## THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

## GERMANY'S ANTI-SOCIALIST LAW.

An instructive short paper by John H. Gray, in the last number of the Quarterly Journal of Economics, gives a historic sketch of the German act against socialism. The act was passed October 21, 1878, after a general election upon this issue.

Organized socialism has been an active force in Germany since Lasalle organized his universal German labor party in 1862. By 1877 socialism had a highly effective organization. Its central newspaper organ had twelve thousand subscribers and a paid corps of agitators was employed. Hoedel, a disowned social democrat, attempted the emperor's life in May, 1878, and immediately afterward the government introduced a brief and stringent bill to protect the empire "against the excesses of the social democracy." The bill was lost, and a dissolution followed. The new bill after the general election was debated from September 9 to October 19, 1878, and finally passed with an important amendment limiting its application to three years. A week after the loss of the first bill Nobeling, a social democrat, made an attempt on the emperor's life.

The bill that finally passed prohibits societies whose aim is the overthrow of the existing political or social system. Associations of every kind are included, and organization for trade, co-operation or charity may be prohibited or continued under state control. The eleventh section makes like provisions against printed matter. The police of the various states is empowered to issue prohibitions which shall hold good for the whole empire. The only appeal from such prohibition is to the next higher administrative authority, or to a specially constituted commission of nine, which shall not proceed as a court of law, but decide on its unhampered judgment. The penalties are fines varying from 150 to 1,000 marks, or imprisonment from a month to a year. The permission to carry on certain occupations may be taken away and persons convicted may be expelled from any given district.

Section 28 of the act permits the central administrative authority of any state to declare any part of the state in a condition now known as "minor siege." Meetings of all kinds may be prohibited or held only under police control; dealing in printed matter in public places may be prohibited; persons supposed to be dangerous may be expelled, and the right to possess or deal in arms may be prohibited. This state of siege is common in large cities and has become permanent in Berlin. The citizen is at the mercy of the local police, and from the decision of the police there is no appeal to any court.

The government's argument was that the socialists, by their platform, had renounced the very foundations upon which the state rests, and therefore had no right to plead for equality before the law. The opposition of all shades urged the danger of putting any part of the community beyond the pale of law, and the socialists declared that socialism was an intellectual movement that could not be eradicated by any such measures. The government's answer was that the object was not so much eradication of socialism as suppression of its worst manifestations. The design of the government was to restore social tranquility and then enact such measures to improve the condition of the laboring classes as would cause socialism to disappear. Mr. Gray says that few foreigners realize how closely related are the anti-socialist laws to the mass of German legislation usually called "state socialism," or by the government "social legislation."

Mr. Gray appends a table showing that in a general way the socialist vote has increased with the increase in the number of convictions under the anti-socialist law. In 1878 the socialist vote was 124,000; in 1878, 437,000; in 1890, 1,341,000. The law was renewed at various times, but on January 25, 1890, the bill to renew it was rejected by the reichstag. Then followed the general election at which the number of social democrats in the reichstag was increased from 11 to 35. The law expires by limitation September 30, 1890.

## SCIENTIFIC CONSERVATISM.

Professor James Bryce, M. P., whose "American Commonwealth" has attracted so much attention, essays in the Speaker, the new liberal London weekly, to account for the conservatism of scientific men. He says that thirty years ago the mass of scientific men were liberals, while now a majority of them are Tories. Professor Bryce protests that he does not mean to discuss individuals or particular issues, but he says in passing that no one but a Primrose dame or an Orangeman can take Professor Tyndall seriously, since he has the temperament

rather of a popular lecturer than of a lover of truth and student of nature.

Professor Bryce suggests, by way of accounting for scientific conservatism, that the former liberalism of scientific men was less real than apparent; that they were liberals because Tories and churchmen sided against them and sought to curb the inquisitiveness of irreverent science. Now that the church is less afraid of Darwinism and geology, scientific men have no longer this negative reason for being on the liberal side.

Again, in times of political stagnation, and especially under despotic governments, the educated class is progressive, perhaps revolutionary, because it sees keenly the evils that exist and revolts against the sway of prejudice and custom. But in times of swift political advance, the same class sees more clearly than others the danger that may lie in sudden and violent change. This tendency is further marked if the educated class has become of importance in what is called society. It easily absorbs the prejudices of the luxurious upper class into which it has been received, and thus becomes conservative.

A third set of causes lies in the scientific habit of mind, the devotion to the positive and exact. The scientific mind thinks that the political, like the natural, world can be ruled by uniformities. It has a strong affinity for the principle of authority. Furthermore, scientific men conscious that the masses are ignorant of nature's secrets, look with contempt on the laity, and are apt to suppose that government is as much a mystery to such men as is science. They forget that public men differ more about government than scientific men differ about science. How shall the mass of men follow when leaders travel in opposite directions? The scientific man being sceptical in matters of religion thinks an established rather than a voluntary church a good thing for the advancement of science, since the farmer is likely to have less enthusiasm in struggling against the encroachments of scientific theories.

Professor Bryce finally doubts the reasoning of the scientific man, and inquires whether it is true that enthusiasm and sentiment injure rather than benefit a state. Were governments better and people happier when power rested with the few? A man of science is no more likely to be wise in politics than a theologian in painting or a cricketer in clock making. The professor closes with a warning to the scientific Tory that the present Tory party is by no means conservative; that it gives him no better guarantees for the defence of what he desires to maintain than does the liberal party.

## MR. FASSETT ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

Senator Fassett of Elmira has in the May issue of the North American Review an article entitled, "Why Cities Are Badly Governed." The article, however, hardly lives up to its title; for it is a suggestion of remedies rather than a recital of causes. Mr. Fassett believes that in a broad way municipal governments in America have been failures. They are accompanied by waste, extravagance, robbery and scandal. It costs much to obtain little. He believes that town, county and state affairs, on the contrary, are administered with reasonable honesty and efficiency. Mr. Fassett believes, too, that the inhabitants of cities are the same in intelligence and morality as inhabitants of towns and states. He wonders why there is this difference in the character of the governments they institute and conduct. He sees some weight in the suggestion that party names in cities have little significance, that city contests are fought out on national issues, which are really of little importance in city government. He believes apparently that a non-partisan city government would be the wise thing. He cites also the argument against the system of government by administrative boards, and the argument in favor of absolute home rule for cities. He cites, apparently not as his own opinion but some one's else, the propositions looking toward municipal home rule. One is that there should be imbedded in the constitution of each state general charters for cities of different grades, and that such charters should be amended only by a very heavy majority of the legislative houses. He notes a suggestion that attributes local troubles to the system of voting and finds a remedy in a new form of ballot.

He doubts, however, whether all of these fully explain the phenomena of bad municipal governments. He apparently believes that one cause of such faulty administration lies in the complicated character of municipal accounts. Men do not vote intelligently about what they do not understand. One important step in the municipal reform would

be a reform of the system of bookkeeping. No one of the thirty-two charter cities in New York state has the same system of bookkeeping, nor does any charter direct how the city accounts are to be kept.

In January of this year the senate passed a resolution directing the standing committee on cities to prosecute a general inquiry concerning the government of cities. This committee brought together all the general acts relating to the government of the cities from all the states of the union and collated the different provisions of the constitution bearing upon municipal government. The committee then collated the various acts affecting the municipal governments passed by the legislature of New York from 1880 to 1889, inclusive. In those ten years 1,284 such laws, changing or amending the charters of thirty cities of this state, were adopted. There were 390 amendments to the charter of the city of New York, 195 to that of Brooklyn and 146 to that of Buffalo. Mr. Fassett regards this as evidence of an immense amount of charter tinkering. He says the figures are now given to the public for the first time. He notes, but does not comment upon, the work of the committee investigating the departments of the New York city government. He says, however, that the committee proposes to make a close examination into the entire fiscal system of the city with a view to simplifying the methods of accounts, and he hopes also that, as a result of the committee's labors, there may be enacted provisions for uniform charters for cities of similar grade.

## TWO FREE TRADE CHAMPIONS.

"The Tariff on Trial" is the title under which the North American Review couples articles in its May issue by Sir Richard J. Cartwright, leader of the Canadian opposition, and Thomas G. Shearman. Sir Richard's article discusses protection in Canada. He believes that Canada is ideally unsuited to the protective principle. A large, well settled country like the United States suffers much less from the evils of protection than one like Canada, and free traders may well argue that the secret of prosperity in the United States is due to free trade over a large area rather than to protection. He believes, too, that Canada adopted the protective system because of our example. He sums up the effect of protection in Canada by saying that it has removed the check on the expenditures of the government, and has resulted in an annual expenditure for federal purposes of nearly fifty per cent more for a population of less than 5,000,000 than the sum required by the United States for like objects when their population was over 20,000,000; that it has systemized and intensified the tendency to use corrupt means for the purpose of influencing the press and the electorate; that it aggravates and accelerates the tendency to accumulate large fortunes in few hands, and at the same time to increase the indebtedness and depreciate the value of property owned by the mass of the community; that it favors the growth of large towns at the expense of small ones and of the rural population. Sir Richard accounts for the fact that Canada continues this unwholesome institution by the great difficulty of overthrowing the well organized system of corruption identified with a great political party; by the difficulty of bringing the one issue squarely before the people; by the immense and continuous immigration of the younger and enterprising men from Canada—men who would naturally be disposed to assist in overthrowing corrupt combinations.

Mr. Shearman's article is in answer to questions called forth from the United question clubs of Massachusetts by the recent discussions in the North American Review between Mr. Blaine and Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Shearman declares that Mr. Blaine shows his accustomed ingenuity by his avoidance of the real issue between free trade and protection. Mr. Shearman then proceeds to reply to the questions in regular order. He denies Mr. Blaine's statement that England has steadily and determinedly protected her maritime interests by means of subsidies. Only a small percentage of English steamships receives subsidies and they are in payment for mail service. If such payments are in excess of the value of such service, they do not act as a stimulus to the mass of British shipping, but are a discouragement.

Mr. Blaine's statement with regard to steel rails tends to prove that the duty on them could be entirely abolished without injury to domestic manufactures. We have paid for steel rails \$200,000,000 more than European railroads have paid for similar rails, and making all allowances, the actual cost to the country for artificially fostering the steel rail industry has been \$150,000,000. The interest on this sum would pay all the wages of all the persons employed in the steel rail

mills in the United States from the beginning of their work to the end of the next twenty years. Mr. Shearman regards Mr. Blaine's list of articles in which American manufacturers can successfully compete in Canada with English manufacturers as a complete refutation of Mr. Blaine's whole argument. All the articles mentioned by Mr. Shearman as exported from America are articles in which a large amount of skilled labor is employed. Although the daily wages are higher in America than in Europe, the actual cost of labor is less with us because of the superior skill of our workmen. With the duty off raw materials we should clearly be in a far better position to compete with Europe.

Mr. Shearman says that Mr. Blaine is, to a certain extent, right in assigning as the cause for the panic of 1857 the tariff of 1846, and as the cause of that of 1837 the tariff of 1833; but the reasons are directly the opposite that Mr. Blaine assigns. Under both tariffs a surplus had accumulated, which proves that those tariffs were far too high. This surplus from 1833 to 1837 was one great cause of the panic of the latter year. The money was distributed to the states, and to make this distribution the government had to call it in from the state banks. This caused the banks to break and the panic of 1837 followed. The states misused the money, and the panic of 1839 followed. Mr. Shearman denies that the tariff of May, 1837, when the panic took place, was a low tariff. The tariff from 1832 to 1837 was higher than the Morrill tariff of 1861. The panic of 1837, therefore, took place under one of the highest tariffs ever known in the history of the country, and it was in a very large degree caused by the protective system. The panic of 1857 was not caused by the low duties under the tariff of 1846; these duties, though much lower than the present ones, were so high as to cause a large accumulation of a surplus in the treasury, for which the government could find no honest use. A time of great prosperity in the country led to land speculation, which ended as it always does in undermining the banks and trust companies and blocking the business of the country. Meanwhile the gold intended for a circulating medium was locked up in the sub-treasury, and when confidence was shaken and depositors sought payment in gold the banks were unable to pay. In this way and in no other the tariff of 1846 aggravated the panic of 1857. Every tariff helps to bring about commercial disaster.

Mr. Shearman shows that with the gradual widening of free trade in England, which began in 1826 and was consummated in 1860, English manufactures grew and flourished. In answer to Mr. Blaine's assertion that if we had bought steel rails of Great Britain we must have paid for them in gold, Mr. Shearman points out that no country ever does pay in gold for any large quantity of imported goods. It pays for them in commodities. The purchase of steel rails in England would have created a demand for American products in England, and would have given employment to American workmen at good wages.

Mr. Shearman declines to discuss the consistency of Mr. Blaine, and then goes on to say that before the colonies separated from Great Britain, and when as yet there was no such thing as a protective system in this country, they had reached the point of competing with the mother country in many manufactures. He says that high wages in the United States have comparatively little influence upon wages in other countries. Wages do not advance where the productive power of laborers does not advance. The reason why wages advance in both England and the United States is that the productive power of workmen in both countries has increased and their standard of living has advanced. These two things mutually react. As the price of manufactures has declined more rapidly in protected countries than in America, Mr. Blaine is wrong in assuming that protection has brought down prices. He is also wrong in assuming that protection has built up manufactures, for it has killed more manufactures than it has helped; it can never do anything else. Doubtless some branches of industry flourish more than they would in the absence of a tax upon the people who support them; but they do it by extinguishing other and more valuable industries and compelling people deprived of their natural means of living to work in protected industries.

## HOW IT WILL WORK.

Boston Globe.

A Chicago firm has hit upon a great idea to combine advertising with tariff reform missionary work. It urges customers to come in and buy, because when the McKinley bill passes prices will go up. It states the case in this way: Tumblers, present price, 73 cents per dozen; McKinley price, \$1.15; blankets, present price, \$2; McKinley price, \$3; and so on.



## SINGLE TAX THE INSTRUMENT.

ADDRESS OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON BEFORE THE UNITARIAN MINISTERIAL UNION AT CHANNING HALL, BOSTON, APRIL 28, 1890.

It was Madame De Stael who said to a British statesman, "Tell me all about the British constitution in ten minutes;" but my friend, the Rev. Mr. Barrows, proposed a harder task when he asked me one day to explain to him the single tax in a sentence. If I should say in reply, "The single tax means equal and exact justice for all," or "to secure the earth for the use of all its inhabitants," or "to yield to the laborer the fruits of his toil," or "the exemplification of true Christianity," I am afraid I should be charged with uttering "glittering generalities." To be illuminating I shall be forced to use many sentences and yet fail to be understood at my conclusion. For how can one in forty minutes express what has taken him years to comprehend? The very brevity and conciseness required for a concrete presentation of the subject will permit only an outline of the great theme.

The single tax was deliberately chosen as the name of a reform which is based upon the most solid ethical foundation. It describes the instrument to bring about a result and not the object to be attained. It is the method to be pursued in the solution of the labor problem. The reason for adopting the name is this: It has a clear, specific, practical meaning. It is not nebulous or indefinite. A single tax is intelligible to the common understanding. Its aim is to abolish all taxes on property and to raise the entire revenue of the country by a single tax on land values.

It is necessary to understand terms clearly. The single tax is not a tax on land, but a tax on the value of land. If land is worthless because undesirable or remote, it would not be taxed. If of small value, then the tax would be small. All value is given to land by the presence of people who require it for use. Remove the people of Boston and place them on a spot where land can be had for nothing and the land values of Boston will fade away and on the new site spring up full armed, like Minerva, from the brain of Jove. Therefore remember that not land but site value is to be taxed. It is a value made by the community, and justly belongs to the community. "Economic rent" is its scientific appellation, and "ground rent" the familiar term.

What wonderful change can this simple process bring to society? The variation of a tax, a mere fiscal measure, is all that there is to the much vaunted movement? Is it for this that volumes have been written and newspapers established? Is it upon such a device that the abatement of poverty and the equality of opportunity is predicated? Even so. Let us get beneath the surface.

I wonder how many of you are familiar with the ninth chapter of Herbert Spencer's "Social Statics," that famous chapter on "The right to the use of the earth." For the moral statement of the cause we advocate, it leaves nothing to be desired. It is complete and it seems to me irrefutable. You have doubtless seen the recent controversy between Spencer, Huxley and others on this very chapter, which Mr. Spencer, shrinking from the application of his teaching, suppressed in later editions. Even had he recanted his philosophy, which he did not, the philosophy would still remain to be judged on its merits, regardless of his altered opinion. To alter a little Arthur Hugh Clough's lines:

"It fortifies my soul to know  
That, though men perish, Truth is so,  
That, however they stray and range,  
Whatever they do, Truth does not change."

Mr. Spencer stood by his proclamation, but shrank from the war that logically followed, and his critics improved their chance to "heckle" him for his inconsistency. But the right of mankind to the use of the earth stands impregnable.

It is upon this right that the single tax plants itself. Its advocates hold with Spencer that every human being born into the world has an equal right to the use of the earth upon which he must subsist, but it is imperative that no one shall use it in such a way as to prevent others from enjoying a similar use. Equity, therefore, forbids property in land. "For if one portion of the earth's surface may justly become the possession of an individual, \* \* \* then other portions of the earth's surface may be so held; and eventually the whole \* \* \* may be so held; and our planet lapse altogether into private hands." It follows, logically, from this, "that if the land owners have a valid right to its surface, all who are not land owners have no valid right at all to its surface," and can exist by sufferance only. "They are all trespassers." They exercise their faculties and can exist only by the consent of the land owners, and consequently exclusive possession is an infringement on the law of equal freedom.

Mr. Spencer finds further reason to deny

the rectitude of property in land on account of defective title and refers the doubt to the chronicles. "Violence, fraud, the prerogative of force, the claims of superior cunning—those are the sources to which those titles may be traced. The original deeds were written with the sword rather than with the pen; not lawyers, but soldiers, were the conveyancers; blows were the current coin given in payment; and for seals, blood was used in preference to wax. Could valid claims be thus constituted?" And he denies that "Time is a great legalizer;" or that immemorial possession can constitute a legitimate claim. "This is the verdict given by pure equity in the matter," he says, "and dictates the assertion that the right of mankind at large to the earth's surface is still valid, all deeds, customs and laws notwithstanding." It reminds one of the New Hampshire judge who declined to deliver up the fugitive slave unless the claimant master could show a bill of sale from the Almighty.

All subdivision is of course impossible, not only because of the variation in the value and adaptation of the land, but because subdivision implies ownership, which we are endeavoring to prove an injustice. Spencer insists that "either men have a right to make the soil private property or they have not. There is no medium. We must choose one of the two positions. There can be no half-and-half opinion. In the nature of things the fact must be either one way or the other."

"If men have not such a right, we are at once delivered from the several predicaments already pointed out. If they have such a right, then it that right absolutely sacred, not on any pretence to be violated. If they have such a right then is his grace of Leeds justified in warning off tourists from Ben Mac Dui, the duke of Atholl in closing Glen Tilt, the duke of Buccleugh in denying sites to the Free church, and the duke of Sutherland in banishing the highlanders to make room for sheep walks. If they have such a right, then it would be proper for the sole proprietor of any kingdom—a Jersey or Guernsey, for example—to impose just what regulations he might choose on its inhabitants—to tell them that they should not live on his property unless they professed a certain religion, spoke a particular language, paid him a specified reverence, adopted an authorized dress and conformed to all other conditions he might see fit to make. If they have such a right, then is there truth in that tenet of the ultra tory school, that the land owners are the only legitimate rulers of a country—that the people at large remain in it only by the land owner's permission, and ought consequently to submit to the landowners' rule, and respect whatever institution the land owners set up. There is no escape from these inferences. They are necessary corollaries to the theory that the earth can become individual property. And they can only be repudiated by denying that theory."

I leave the strictly moral consideration here, with an expression of my inability to answer the reasoning or escape from its conclusions. In the discussion of the single tax its critics, judging from my own experience, waste no words on the ethical side. They brush it away as all right enough in theory or principle, but what has that to do with practical things? Personal ownership is established in all civilized countries. Laws, custom, prejudice are in its favor. As Boss Tweed remarked: "What are you going to do about it?"

Consider the problem which confronts us and forces us to answer it at the peril of relapsing into barbarism. The Malthusian bugbear which alarmed our fathers and attributed to the Creator of the world a blindness which brought forth human beings with such inadequate provision that population was destined to outrun subsistence, no longer scares us. It painted a future of misery and starvation, when hungry and naked human beings would curse existence and perish miserably. It championed a hopeless and fatalistic creed.

Since Malthus was laid away with his philosophy and his fathers, the population of the globe has steadily increased, and the fear he generated has vanished, for subsistence and production have multiplied in a greater ratio. The present embarrassment is the embarrassment of riches, and the surplus of food and clothing is made responsible for poor trade and hard times. With accumulating wealth we find a greater inequality of condition, and vice and poverty more than keep pace with palaces and millionaires. How is it that the producers of wealth are prevented from sharing equally its enormous growth? "Could a man of the last century," says Henry George, "a Frank or a Priestly, have seen in a vision of the future the wonders that we are so familiar with, what would he have inferred as to the social condition of mankind?" And he answers, "It would not have seemed like an inference, further than the vision went; it would have seemed as though he saw, and his heart would have leaped and his nerves would have thrilled, as one from a height beholds just ahead of the tourist-stricken caravan the living gleam of rustling woods and the glint of laughing waters. Plainly, in the sight of imagination, he would have beheld these new forces elevating society from its very foundations, lifting the very poorest above the possibility of want, exempting the very lowest from anxiety for the material

needs of life; he would have seen these slaves of the lamp of knowledge taking on themselves the traditional curse, these muscles of iron and sinews of steel making the poorest laborer's life a holiday, in which every high quality and noble impulse could have scope to grow."

But the fact remains quite otherwise than the vision. "Some get an infinitely better and easier living, but others find it hard to get a living at all. The 'tramp' comes with the locomotive, and almshouses and prisons are as surely the marks of 'material progress' as are the costly dwellings, rich warehouses, and magnificent churches." What is it which associates poverty with progress and increases want with advancing wealth? "This is the riddle," says Mr. George, "which the sphinx of fate puts to our civilization, and which not to answer is to be destroyed."

The trouble is not to be laid to the parsimony of nature; it has to be accounted for by human interference with the natural distribution of wealth which is the product of labor and capital applied to land. Partial laws, privileges and protective tariffs account for much of the existing social confusion, but abolishing all those, the fountain head of misery will still be left untouched.

In his recent address at San Francisco Mr. George, after referring feelingly to his California life, went on to speak of his journeying across the continent before the railway was completed, and said: "When in the streets of New York, for the first time I realized the contrasts of wealth and want that are to be found in a great city, saw those sights that to the man who comes from the west affright and appal, the problem grew upon me. I said to myself there must be some reason for this; there must be some remedy for this and I will not rest until I have found the one and discovered the other. At last it came clear as the stars of a bright midnight. I saw what was the cause; I saw what was the cure; I saw nothing that was new. Truth is never new."

The cause he saw was the ownership and monopoly of land. The remedy he discovered was the single tax, to the practical examination of which I shall now address myself. The question of taxation is a broad one. Granted the necessity of government, and the wherewithal to sustain it must be granted also. The methods of levying tributes in the form of taxes are innumerable, yet human ingenuity or avarice or tyranny or wisdom has never yet formulated a plan for a just and equal distribution of the burden of taxation. In every civilized community of the world the question is a burning one, and a sense of wrong underlies the popular complaint. The reason is that a tax on property diminishes wealth and decreases its production, subtracts from the earnings of labor, and, with a very few exceptions, taxes decline to stay where they are put.

One of the objections most frequently urged against the single tax is that capital will thereby escape taxation. But capital laughs at the idea of being taxed. It gladly pays the tax because it can be easily shifted to the consumer. A more unequal arrangement than obtains to-day in the collection of revenue, direct or indirect, would be hard to devise. I sat beside a distinguished woolen manufacturer of Providence the other day while Judge Lawrence of Ohio, in advocating the protection of the wool grower, intimated that the manufacturers of Rhode Island were amply able to pay the tariff tax on raw material. "Does the dunce suppose I stand the tax of ten cents a pound on my Australian wool?" whispered my neighbor. "I add it to the price of my cloth with interest and profit, and sell my goods to the Chicago Jews. They make it into clothing and add the tax and profit and interest and sell their goods to Judge Lawrence's constituents—the farmers, wool growers and mechanics—who bear the entire burden. What does he take us for?" This is merely an example. As a rule a rich man sheds taxes as a duck's back does water, and they fall upon the weakest shoulders.

All wealth comes primarily from the earth by the application of labor. A denial of access to land prevents the production of wealth and diminishes the opportunity of the worker. Yet we see land owners grow rich, in utter idleness, by simply taking from the land they hold the value given to it by others. Long John Wentworth of Chicago understood and practiced the scheme. His advice to a young man was to buy a farm on the outskirts of a city. "Grow cabbages upon it," he said, "and the assessor will tax it lightly. By and by the city will envelop your acres and you can sell house lots by the front foot and at a great price." This is the secret of the Astors' fortune. All the time land is held for a rise in value those who would use it to advantage are denied the chance. The owner declines to sell it and refuses to improve it, knowing that the growing community is increasing the value of his possession without causing him expense or effort. And the present custom of assessing land favors this kind of speculation. If two men own adjoining city lots of equal value and one improves his by a useful building, the tax on his lot is immediately raised. He is fined for adding to the wealth of the city, and his neighbor is rewarded for preventing the addition of wealth by holding his lot idle for speculation. Under the single tax the vacant lot would pay as high a tax as the improved lot, and the holder would find it to his advantage to build upon it or allow some one

else to do so. It would, therefore, make building lots plenty, and multiply stores and dwellings. For then buildings would not be taxed. Personal property would not have to hide itself away in dark corners and tax payers would have no temptation to perjure themselves or move to Nahant or Lancaster. There would be no tax dodging. The land cannot be hidden.

"This might answer in the city," you say; "but how about the poor farmer whose chief possession is land? You would exterminate him." This was the assertion of the chairman of the committee on taxation this year from the town of Barnstable, anxiously concerned for the fate of his farmer constituents. Look around to-day under the present vaunted system. Is the farmer's lot a desirable one? On the contrary, of all the great industries of the country, what is there which compares in depression with agriculture? The farmer is taxed on everything he has, for the assessor can usually enumerate his property to a sheep or a hog. For the staple product of the farm he has to accept a price based on the world's value of his surplus in London or Liverpool. It is to him, of all men, that the single tax would come as an angel of relief.

No improvements would be levied upon; only the bare land would be taxed, just as if no spade or plow had ever turned up its surface. The house and tools and machines and stock would be freed. The indirect tax on his lumber and hardware and glass and blankets and carpets and stoves and crockery and clothing would vanish. Unless his farm was more valuable for other purposes, like the one on the outskirts of the city, the relief would be immense. Instead of refraining from improvement and enterprise as now, for fear of higher taxes, the stimulus of hope would come to the tiller of the soil. Doubtless the single tax would diminish farms of excessive extent of which only part are cultivated, for the reason that use alone would be profitable. Unused tracts of land now held out of reach would seek cultivators. As buildings would increase in cities to the great advantage of masons and carpenters and mechanics generally, so in the country farming would be encouraged, and on account of accessibility, farms would multiply.

You tell me that this is unlikely, as there is a surplus of farm products now. To this I answer, that gluts must exist as long as governments make it a punishable offense for people to exchange their grain and fruits and cattle where it shall profit them most. As long as human beings anywhere on the globe hunger and starve there is congestion and bad distribution, but no real surplus of food. By value a farmer is much less a land owner than he is a capitalist and laborer. But the owner of the small lot on the corner of Washington and Court streets, upon which Sears's building stands, is a land owner indeed. Just try and estimate the number of farms he could get in exchange for that diminutive piece of land. I know no better illustration of land values. Boundless acres weighed in the balance of one city lot, and the acres kick the beam.

The twenty-five cities of Massachusetts, while they cover less than 5 per cent of the area, contain 77 per cent of the land values of the state. Boston alone contains 45 per cent of the land values of Massachusetts, and only 20 47ths of 1 per cent of the area. Under the single tax Boston would pay at the present valuation 46 per cent of all the taxes raised in the state. At present it pays 5 per cent. Three-quarters of an average acre along Washington street is worth as much as all the land in Southboro. The owner of the \$19,500 building at the corner of Washington and Winter streets, standing on a \$122,500 lot, would have his tax increased heavily and find it profitable to erect a better building, but Fred L. Ames would probably pay a less tax on the corner of Court and Washington streets than will be levied under the present system. (For these facts I am indebted to Mr. S. H. Howes of Southboro, Mass.)

I grant that under the system we advocate speculation in land would cease, as no one would desire to possess it except to use it, nor would it profit anyone to do so. It would cease to be an investment. No capital would be locked up in it, and a vast sum now imprisoned would be set free for productive purposes.

Imagine that land ownership had never existed in Boston. That all land was accessible to him who wished to use it by simply paying its yearly rental value. That no landlord, as now, stood ready to gobble up in rent the profits of labor. That each tenant were secured legally in his possession as he possibly can be now in ownership, had no fear of taxes, direct or indirect, and that no barbarous custom houses interposed an unnatural barrier to free trade. That the wage earner, allowed free access to the opportunity of land at present locked up from him, instead of begging for work as now, were free to employ himself. Would not Boston be better than Bellamy's dream of it, and that without the sacrifice of individual independence? Then there could be no excuse for idleness or poverty, except through personal fault or misfortune, and not as now enforced by cruel laws which breed evil conditions. To able bodied people seeking work or charity, we would say, "Go and employ yourselves." Human wants are illimitable. Opportunity is opened for all who will use it.



The profits of labor cannot then be siphoned from the laborer. No armies of officials will interfere with our exchanging freely what we raise or make for something else that we want. Universal interchange means increased human satisfaction and an unending demand for workers. Therefore, the more workers the more wealth.

No wonder that Mr. George, seeing what may be wrought with no miracle, simply by striking off the fetters of law and custom, gained new reverence for the Creator of the earth, and looked upon the "unearned increment" of land as the divinely appointed source of revenue from which a perfect society could support itself in peace and prosperity.

Supposing we compare the three partners which produce all wealth—Land, Capital and Labor—and see what sort of equality exists in the partnership. Labor struggles and is in chains; Capital grumbles at the small return it gets from its investments, but the landlord who neither works nor risks, gathers in the profits and is cheerful, like

The smiling young lady of Niger  
Who rode on the back of a tiger:

The return from the ride  
Found the lady inside,

And the smile on the face of the tiger.

The landlord is the tiger, and he who rides with him eventually takes the inside seat and loses the power to smile. Of course, in this sense, landlord does not mean the man who owns the buildings, but the man who owns the land, which is a privilege other men must get permission from him to use and on his terms.

So we expect to enlist capital and labor in the single tax movement just as soon as we can beat its meaning into their stupid heads. To liberate land is to eliminate the useless partner of the firm and allow the two remaining ones a just division of the profits.

Perhaps no better illustration of the land owner's power can be seen than at Killarney in Ireland, that beautiful spot where lake and mountain unite to make a perfect region of natural delight. Here the tourist goes to rest his mind and give activity to his imagination, and here in the midst of earth's beauty he finds degraded poverty and hordes of beggars. Did the kind power that made the one produce also the other? If yes, then welcome atheism, for the universe is a failure and the devil is at the fore.

But before you reach this terrible verdict look further. True, if you ask the idle villagers who is responsible for their misery they will say "the Lord," but they mean the lord of the manor, like the earl of Kenmare and Herbert of Muckross, who are the owners of the enchanting landscape and delightful waters. They own also the wretched hovels and neglected farms. Not one of these people can raise a potato or ply a trade unless he gets permission and pays a tribute in the way of rent to these two favored mortals of Killarney. What service have these landlords rendered to mankind? They produce nothing. They live luxuriously and with prodigality on money wrung from their tenants. In fact, both had been spendthrifts to the verge of bankruptcy, and when I was there last summer, were away seeking fresh means to bolster up their failing fortunes and redeem their mortgaged estates. Their tenants were discouraged because the rent took all. The more they earned and saved the more the landlord raised the rent, content only when he left a bare livelihood. No wonder despair came to them and beggary or exile was accepted.

I hear you say: "Under the single tax would not the rent be taken just the same? And what matters it if the town of Killarney or the earl of Kenmare exact it?" A pertinent inquiry. Mark the distinction. When the town gathers the rent of the land, who gets it? The town gets it and it belongs to the town, and the town is the people. Justice prevails. When the earl takes the rent the earl gets it, and squanders it, and the town "gets left." When the earl sees a farmer improving his soil and enlarging his house he puts up the rent high enough to absorb the improvement, and can always take the product of the farmer's industry, provided he leaves just enough for a scanty living.

Under the single tax the farmer would not be taxed for a single improvement. He may have an adjacent neighbor who neglects his farm and lets it run down, but as both have by situation land of equal value he will pay no more rent for his prosperous farm than the sloven will pay for his neglected one. Now if those two farms were in Massachusetts and the farmers were the owners, the idler would pay a low tax and the industrious one a high rate. The law would thus reward idleness and punish thrift.

In the city what happens now? Crowded tenements and lofty buildings and vacant lots. It is computed that New York city is today only half built upon. Per contra, in Philadelphia, where personal property is highly taxed and ground rents are common, there are more homes and more comfortable ones for the working people than in any city of the union, and fewer tenement houses in proportion. Manufacturers gravitate there. I saw it stated the other day that the manufacturing interests in the city of Philadelphia equalled those of all New England. But think how much more Philadelphia would prosper and labor secure its comforts if the ground rent went to the city treasury and not to private pockets. Professor Ely, of Johns Hopkins

university, at one time an assessor of Baltimore, asserted that with the single tax on land values in that city, it would be the most desirable place for living in the United States. Not only would the land yield sufficient revenue for governmental needs, but enough for other public purposes, including a reduction of the fares on the street railroads. Perhaps no single expense of municipal or town government is so great as of the streets and roads. They are in a perpetual state of repair and extension. They have a great capacity to absorb the money paid in taxes. None of them are too good, most of them are far from satisfactory, but they represent an immense investment made by the people. Notwithstanding their importance and cost, private corporations have no difficulty in getting for nothing the street franchise for their railroads or gas pipes or electric wires. Here is an enormous value, created by the community, and belonging to it, practically confiscated by a few shrewd men who profit by the simplicity and blindness of the citizens, who submit to and ratify the injustice. If the revenue were paid to those who have the rightful claim to it, it would lift the burdens of labor instead of swelling the pockets of the speculators. The single tax would prevent such spoliation, and corporations would pay for the privileges granted them.

But you are wearied by my exposition of the wrongfulness of prevailing methods of taxation and impatient for a consideration of the remedy. I once asked David A. Wells this question: "Supposing the country were to start afresh and individual ownership of land not rooted in law, would it not be better for all land to be rented by the people?" "Unquestionably," he answered; "but the trouble is to reach that desirable condition without confiscation and great injustice." And this is the position of Herbert Spencer. The principle we contend for is granted, but its application is deprecated.

I am one of those who believe that right principles are always susceptible of application, and while, popularly speaking, Wells and Spencer would be called safe and considerate guides on this point, and Mr. George a theorist and fanatic, I venture to prophesy that posterity will give a different verdict.

No reform is possible without disturbing vested property and privileges. When railroads were first proposed the stage coach interest fought them tooth and nail. When gas was introduced the makers of lamps, the dealers in oil and the whaling interest protested against it as ruinous to their business. In turn gas antagonized the electric as long as "a fighting chance" was left. Investments made in good faith, with a belief in the stability of things, are often wiped out by new discoveries and innovations. It is unquestionably hard for the sufferers, but the many are benefited and blessed, and progress is the law of life and civilization.

The process of disturbance is going on every day. The present brutal tariff bill, under discussion in congress, if passed, will make and mar many a fortune. It will undoubtedly annihilate entire interests and grant profitable privileges to others. When a tax was put upon foreign copper for the benefit of the Calumet & Heckla mine, it shut up the Revere copper works at Point Shirley and deprived 150 men of employment. It injured the cotton and shoe manufacturers, who used to exchange their goods for the copper ore of Chili. It helped kill the American shipping that carried the South American trade. That was an instance of wanton confiscation that cannot be justified, but the tale arouses no indignation when it is recited. When, however, a change in the interest of justice and against monopoly is demanded, indignation is on tap at once, and confiscation and robbery the ready cry.

Who talks of compensation when by intermeddling legislation private interests are injured? Who is to compensate the Tremont iron company for idle works and empty furnaces that would be running full blast if it were allowed to buy its coal and iron where nature dictates? When Boston decides to close a large proportion of its saloons by granting licenses to a minority of liquor sellers, who asks that the men whose business is thus abruptly destroyed shall be compensated? Who paid the ship owners of the United States for their ships annihilated by the tariff? But when, with long warning, it is announced that the method of imposing taxes is to be gradually changed from property to land, which is in truth not a proper subject of individual ownership any more than the air and sunlight, then arises on all hands the cry of "Confiscation and robbery!" How strange it is that the oppressor ever gains the popular sympathy and the oppressed is forgotten. The protected manufacturer is always remembered and the burdened consumer is not thought of. It was a dreadful and unjust thing in the popular mind to liberate a slave without compensation to his master, but whoever asked compensation for the slave who was forced to give his earnings to another? Mr. Emerson was one of the few who did. He said:

Pay ransom to the owner  
And fill the bag to the brim.  
Who is the owner? The slave is owner.  
And ever was. Pay him.

So in your sympathy for the monopolists of land, who are to be the chief losers in the day of the single tax, think for a moment of the millions who crowd the ranks of poverty and want, simply for the reason that the

opportunities to labor have been closed to them by the iron hands which grasp natural privileges, and save a few tears for them. Who can remunerate them? Pity the owners of the rich stores of mineral wealth, the iron and copper and coal, for whose benefit nature, for thousands of years, has been storing her bounty, but never mind the freezing families who cannot get coal to burn, because some man or corporation has and holds the key to the earth and all that its bosom holds. Who shall remunerate people made paupers, not by nature, but by the greed of their fellow men?

We grant that disturbance will take place in the realization of the single tax; that those who are speculating in land will be losers; that those using land inadequately will suffer loss, though in a less degree. But we challenge you to parallel this just and fundamental movement for the rectification of social conditions and the abolition of unwilling poverty by any other in history, as conservative or considerate or merciful. It imposes no burden of a hair's weight. Its one function is to remove burdens that now press down humanity which stoops beneath the load.

Desirable though it would be to have the reform immediate and unconditional, the nature of the case forbids it. The result has to be reached through a series of steps slow and tentative. To use the familiar simile, the present tax system is a pyramid. At the base is the land tax, which is never escaped, and is paid by the landlord who has no power to shift it. Above that is placed the tax on houses and personal property. The houses cannot escape, and generally the tax can be shifted to the tenant. Personal property can largely escape, especially if held by rich people. But the poor man, like the farmer who cannot hide his cow or horse or plow, pays the full tax. The widow and orphan are fully taxed. The next layer of the pyramid is the indirect revenue taxes for the support of the national government, and its apex is the so-called protective tax, the most iniquitous, unequal and undemocratic one ever devised. It is made on purpose to be shifted from the strong to the weak. It steals from labor by allowing favored individuals to levy upon their fellow citizens for selfish ends. It is despotic and anti-republican. It belongs to the dark ages and to the category of human slavery, for by it the fruits of freedom are despoiled.

Naturally the single tax advocates are free traders. Their present objective point is the protective system. Their hands are full of the work that lies nearest, and their method intensely practical. They have not to wait till society is perfect and men saints before they can put their plans in operation. The outer work of protection must yield first, and whoever helps in storming it helps along the single tax. After its surrender come the revenue duties, and our business will be to show the cost and evil of custom houses and the childishness of paying indirectly a larger tax than would be needed if levied direct. The non-producers who live by customs could be dismissed to find useful work and lessen the dangers of civil service. Then we are down to personal property and houses. The manifest difficulty and injustice of taxing the first would soon exempt it, and we should reach the goal of Mr. Wells and Mr. Atkinson—the taxation of real estate alone, houses and land.

With the field cleared to this point we could make apparent the wrongfulness of taxing houses. Why should men who confer upon the community the boon of stores and dwellings be fined for it? That will not encourage them to build more and make rents cheaper. It will have a contrary effect. The wage earner will pay more of his scant earnings, tenement houses increase, and separate homes be harder to obtain. The only excuse that can be given for taxing buildings is that they cannot run away from the assessors. But the tax can make wealth run away. At last we reach our ideal tax on the land. Gradually the burden has been adjusted. Year by year it has been withdrawn from one thing after another and concentrated upon the rest, until at last it settles upon the earth, where it belongs, and vanishes into the ground. Wealth, no longer discouraged and punished, increases marvelously. Exchange free and unhampered, the equitable distribution of the product of man's labor cheers and encourages the worker. The open field for self-employment raises wages from the bottom and makes life easier and better. No cunning law permits one to take away the fruits of others' industry and self-denial. The sacred right of property is respected because it grows out of the right of a man to himself. No mote or blemish is set to its accumulation for the reason that there cannot be too much wealth, and with no partial laws to divert its natural flow, it would settle where it should. Excepting the physically incompetent, those who remain poor will deserve their condition, but it would be self-imposed by idleness or vice and susceptible of self-cure. But enforced idleness would be impossible. The land has a broad back and feels no tax. However much is put upon it—and no more would be so placed than the community needed and would cheerfully pay—it could not be transferred to labor. The tax which diminishes property cannot diminish land by an inch. Instead of making it hard to get, land would come tempting men to use it, with the assured guarantee that

they may gather their full product unmo-lested and unplundered.

Only one condition must be exacted. Choose what spot you will, as much as your use requires, be it more or less, and pay for the privilege what it is worth to you and no more, gauged by what others will readily pay for it. Hesitate not to improve it. Heap up all possible produce from it, whether in grain or goods, in warehouse or in buildings, for other's use. No finger but your own shall ever subtract a penny from it. You made it, and it is yours against the world. Not one extra cent will be levied upon you because of your improvements. If it should happen that, through increase of population and consequent rise in site value of the land you occupy, it shall be worth more for some different purpose, no one can take it from you unless he remunerates you for your improvements; and plenty of land suitable to your occupation awaits you. Above all things, your tenure, as long as you pay rental, shall be as secure as any title of ownership now gives you.

The basis of the scheme is justice. No one gets an unfair advantage. If Jordan, Marsh & Co. desire to hold their favored corner, they are at liberty to do so, by paying the single land tax for the privilege. Not one in the community is wronged, for the reason that they pay the people for the advantage and no landlord gets it. In short the single tax is the assurance of freedom. The more one studies it, the more he will be able to appreciate this eloquent and hopeful utterance of Henry George:

"But if, while there is yet time, we turn to justice and obey her, if we trust liberty and follow her, the dangers that now threaten must disappear, the forces that now menace will turn to agencies of elevation. Think of the powers now wasted; of the infinite fields of knowledge yet to be explored; of the possibilities of which the wondrous inventions of this century give us but a hint. With want destroyed; with greed changed to noble passions; with the fraternity that is born of equality taking the place of the jealousy and fear that array men against each other; with mental power loosed by conditions that give to the humblest comfort and leisure, and who shall measure the heights to which our civilization may soar? Words fail the thought. It is the golden age of which poets have sung, and high-raised seers have told in metaphor. It is the glorious vision which has always haunted man with gleams of fitful splendor. It is what he saw whose eyes at Patmos were closed in trance. It is the culmination of Christianity—the city of God on earth, with its walls of jasper and its gates of pearl. It is the reign of the Prince of Peace!"

#### THE COMING POET.

\* \* \* Yet such a poet will come. The world is ripe for great events, and wronged peoples are becoming stirred by emotion and inspired by hope. The man will surely be found fit to sing freedom's new song to a people about to realize the dream of a new heaven and a new earth.—[STANDARD, Dec. 21, '89.]

At the gate of the morning we wait him,

At the dawn of a century new,

When men shall arise and see visions

And tyranny fade from the view;

When the rags and the tatters we're wearing

Are doffed for new mantles that seem

Habitments fit for the angels—

He shall follow in wake of the Dream!

To sing the new tune when our pulses

Are still, and our hearts shall be dust;

To give a new glory to girlhood,

To teach the strong man to be just.

To sing a new freedom for woman,

To bring up the rivers again

Of Love, that the rock may be smitten

That prisons the sons of men.

What a song-burst shall fall on our hearing?

What strains of new rapture, like those

That came to the ears of men steering

Through Ocean seas, at the close

Of the day, when the Grecian evening

With the flute of great Pan was shaken;

On the day of the world's new dawning

A greater Pan shall awaken.

And music that lives in freedom

Shall burst her barriers—far

Mounting and mounting in rapture,

To grasp the most infinite bar.

What a song!—like a lark's in the morning;

What a hope!—for the day is here;

What a faith—long obscure in the night-time,

Shines out supernaturally clear!

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

PLEASE ANSWER, MR. WANAMAKER!

Boston Globe.

A Maori god imported for the Metropolitan museum of art in New York has escaped paying a duty after a hard struggle. What does Mr. Wanamaker think of a policy which lets in heathen idols free, but lays a heavy duty on christian bibles?

#### IT IS BECAUSE IT IS RIGHT.

From a Lecture by Father Huntington.

It is not simply on account of the poor that we are to fight for the single tax; it is not simply because of the wide-spread suffering, it is not because it is simply a means of doing good; but it is because it is right.

#### EDUCATION IS THE THING.

Kansas City Star.

Reading and reflection make tariff reform.



## BALLOT REFORM.

## HOW THE BILL GOT THROUGH.

## THE REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE—FUTURE MOVEMENTS.

The general committee of the Ballot reform league met at the rooms of the Reform club on the evening of May 2, to hear the report of the committee to whom, at the previous meeting, power had been given to secure a ballot reform bill based on the principles set forth at the head of this column.

Mr. Horace E. Deming made the report for the committee. It was listened to with the closest attention. When the general committee met last, said he, the situation was very grave. The governor had vetoed the Saxton bill; but it was felt in Albany that public clamor was so strong for ballot reform of some kind that something must be done. Neither of the political parties wanted ballot reform, but they both felt that some concession must be made. A new bill was being considered in the senate; Assemblyman Acker had a bill in the house; several members of both houses had bills in their pockets, ready to offer at the first opportunity. Under these circumstances there was great danger that some bad bill would be passed—something that would set the cause of ballot reform back for years. So your committee prepared a bill, which was amended at the suggestion of Professor Collin, the legal adviser of the governor, to meet his objections. Senator Saxton approved the bill, and said he would substitute it for his bill which was then pending, and a guarantee came authoritatively from Governor Hill that if the bill passed he would sign it. So your committee felt that its labors were about ended. But the governor took an early opportunity to advertise the fact that he would sign this bill, even prominently referring to it in a message about some little bill that had passed and which he vetoed because of the other bill, which he said he would sign. His repeated asseverations as to his action on our bill seem to have scared the republican senators, who held a caucus and decided to oppose its passage, thereby letting the governor out of "the hole" into which they had put him, and jumping into it themselves. They reversed their insane action next day, and when the bill came up for final action it passed unanimously, although it was a hard dose to swallow. In the assembly the bill was fought for a while by two of the democratic members, who could not be whipped into line until after the governor had used his influence. The chief opponent was one Timothy Sullivan, from this city, and the other was one Michael J. Nolan from Albany, who it seems had been elected on the ballot reform issue. After these two men returned from a visit to the executive mansion they withdrew their objections, and the bill passed unanimously again. The governor has signed it, as you know, and it is now law, despite the political machines, neither of whom wanted it.

As passed, continued Mr. Deming, the bill is superior in many respects to the Saxton bill, while, in my opinion, it is inferior in the ballot itself. Instead of voting on a blanket ballot, the voter will be handed, in separate slips, the ballot of each party. But the compromise bill is an improvement over the Saxton bill in that no one but the voter is allowed in a booth when his ballot is being prepared, unless he is without arms, or a paralytic, or blind. In conclusion, Mr. Deming congratulated the league on the work that had been done for ballot reform despite the politicians.

The report was approved, and Julien T. Davies (representing the republican volunteer association) moved a vote of thanks to the committee, and especially to its chairman (Mr. Deming) for the brilliant work done by them in pushing the ballot reform measure to a success. Oliver Sumner Trail (also representing the republican volunteer association) seconded the motion, which, when put by Mr. Davies, was unanimously carried.

Discussion arose as to what the league ought to do. Some of the members thought that as the league had fulfilled its mission, it ought to be dissolved, and a motion was made to that effect; but it was laid on the table until the next meeting, when the auditing committee will report on the accounts of the league.

Informal discussion developed the opinion that the league should maintain its organization until the law had been put completely into effect—that is to say, until the public were sufficiently familiar with the provisions of the new law to be able to vote under it without embarrassment. It would be necessary, also, to use the influence of the league at the next election to prevent any violations of the new law by the political machines. Furthermore, Mr. Deming stated that it would be necessary to have some such organization as the league in existence to test the constitutionality of the Australian form of ballot. He said that a bill was now pending before the legislature providing a way for testing that question in the court of appeals.

Mr. Lawrence Dunham, who has done such effective work as secretary and treasurer of the finance committee, tendered his resignation, because he would have to be away from the city until fall. His resignation was received with regret, and Mr. A. J. Wiers was elected to the vacancy.

The league then adjourned subject to the call of the chair. At the close of the meeting Mr. Deming was warmly congratulated by the members of the league personally for the good work done by him.

## HOW THE VOTING IS DONE.

Mr. Deming explained to the Reform club last Friday night the processes by which the voter will cast his ballot at the next election, under the new law.

When Mr. Smith presents himself at his polling place, he explained, and announces himself ready to vote, the polling clerk calls out his name, and he may then be challenged if anybody so desires. If not, the polling clerk marks opposite his name on the list a number which indicates how many have thus far voted. Thus, if Mr. Smith is the thirty-seventh man who has voted that day, he is No. 37. The polling clerk calls out this number and the ballot clerk, to whom Mr. Smith next goes, writes that number on the stub which is attached to each of the several ballots which he gives to Mr. Smith. Mr. Smith is obliged to accept and subsequently account for all the ballots which are handed him. If there are six tickets in the field, Mr. Smith receives six ballots bearing the names of the respective candidates, and also one blank ballot, upon which are printed the names of the offices to be filled, but no names of candidates. None of the ballots given him are designated by any party title. He must pick out the ticket he wants by the names thereon. Each detachable stub upon each ballot bears not only Mr. Smith's number, 37, but the initials of the ballot clerk. The ballots themselves, after the stubs have been torn off, can in no way be identified.

Having received these official ballots, Mr. Smith is beyond the reach of any assistance in preparing his ballot or casting it. He goes forthwith into a booth at one side of the room. This booth is three feet square, and it has walls at least six feet high on three sides, while the door, which swings outward, reaches to within two feet of the floor. When Mr. Smith is inside nothing of him is visible except his legs from the knees down, unless he happens to be a very tall man.

Once inside he must remain there at least three minutes. The law compels him to make of himself a prisoner for that length of time. He may stay ten minutes if he likes, but not longer if others are waiting to use the booths. During his retirement, if he wishes to paste, he pastes; if he wishes to write, he writes. There is a small shelf in the booth and a lead pencil. If he spoils his ballot in preparation, he can come out and surrender the entire set and get a new one. He can have four sets in all if he needs them, but that is the legal limit.

When his ballot is prepared to his satisfaction he is required to fold it so that its contents are invisible. Then he must fold all the other ballots which he doesn't want in the same way. He must be careful about this, for if he should disclose on coming out of the booth what ticket he intended to cast he would forfeit his vote as the penalty. All the offices to be filled at that election are included on one ballot, national, state, local and all, so that there is only one ballot to cast in any event.

When he comes out of the booth with the various ballots in his hands, he goes to the inspector. His name is again called out, and there is another opportunity for challenge before the ballot is cast. The inspector also calls the number on the stubs of the ballots which Mr. Smith holds, and if the number is not the same as the one opposite Mr. Smith's name, No. 37 in this case, then Mr. Smith goes to jail. The stubs are torn off of all the ballots and are preserved by the election officers. Mr. Smith puts the ballot he desires to vote into the ballot box and the ballots he doesn't want into another big box.

When the polls are closed the stubs and the unused ballots must all be accounted for by the election officers. Otherwise somebody goes to jail. Pastors always count wherever they appear on a ticket. The size, type, paper, etc., to be used in making pasters are prescribed by law. The illiterate voter may come to the polls with his entire ticket printed as a paster with a gummed back in his pocket. When he gets into the booth he can paste this ticket on any one of the official ballots given him, fold it properly, and it will be counted as he intends to have it.

## WHY DO WE TAX INDUSTRY.

Bloomington, Ill., Leader.

We tax dogs for no other purpose in the world except to discourage the raising of them. Why do we tax buildings, manufacturing and industries? Is it to discourage the building of houses, the building of manufactories, and the development of our industries?

## WE ARE A GREAT PEOPLE.

Boston Globe.

"Ten cents a pound or a duty of about \$35 on that small bale," said a slick custom house officer to the inquirer on Commercial wharf, as a workman rolled a package of Australian wool upon a truck. "And it will never see my poor back, begorra!" said the latter.

## THAT'S IT.

Protection, boiled down, means more work and less result; and carried out to its conclusion it means all work and no result.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

## THE SINGLE TAX IN MINNEAPOLIS.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: In your issue of April 16 Mr. George White of Brooklyn, N. Y., asks me some questions, which I must ask pardon for not answering sooner.

Mr. White's supposition is true that the separate valuation of land and buildings results here in substantial equality of assessment on lots of equal value. Not only that, but unplatted lands in the midst of platted lots are assessed as if they were platted, the assessor estimating how many lots could be made of the unplatted tract and assessing them the same as other equally desirable lots.

In answer to Mr. White's second question I would reply in the affirmative also. The system of special assessment for local improvement has been in force here for a considerable number of years. If I am correctly informed the adoption of the policy was largely due to the efforts of Hon. C. A. Pillsbury when a member of the state senate. Mr. Pillsbury tells me that, at first, these assessments were made against the value of the lands and improvements, but that he secured the change to the present method of assessing against the land alone.

Such assessments in Minneapolis apply to the opening and widening of streets, laying of sidewalks, paving, curb and gutter, sewers and water mains, street sprinkling, land for park and boulevard purposes, and in some instances it has been applied to the grading and improving of boulevards. In the case of sewers and water mains only a part of the cost is met by special assessment, the remainder being raised by general taxation. Our street grading and crossings are done wholly by ward funds raised by general taxation, and we have a most disgraceful result. The aldermen are under the constant temptation to use the ward fund to grade about their own property or that of their political friends, and none of the work is well done.

Our neighboring city of St. Paul does all her grading and crossing work by special assessment, and she has the finest streets of any city of my acquaintance; besides she has removed a very great temptation from the path of her aldermen.

It is the rapidly growing sentiment that the special assessment policy must be extended in Minneapolis so as to cover the entire work of making and maintaining the streets of the city. "I am enough of a single taxer to see the wisdom of such a course," is a common remark here, and there is no doubt that the next session of the legislature will be asked to give us the authority to make the change.

I have long regarded the special assessment plan for local improvements as one of the strongest levers that single tax men could work with, and I can assure the brethren that they will make no mistake if they use it.

The single tax cause has a most forcible grip on the people of this city. Very few can be found now to denounce the single tax. Instead of opposing, they explain that they are not yet sufficiently posted to warrant the expression of an opinion. The phrase, "the single tax," is used as a catch word for advertisements. I have seen several such, and people look upon and speak of the single tax as quite the proper thing.

Minneapolis. C. J. BUELL.

## "PA" CHASE ON FREE RUM.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: I was born in the state of Vermont in the year 1820. When I was seven years old the "temperance movement" was inaugurated. My father was a physician, and immediately enlisted in preaching temperance. He signed the "pledge." So did I. All the "stores" sold "ardent spirits"—New England rum, 25 cents per gallon; French brandy, \$1.50 per gallon; wines, from 50 cents to \$1 per gallon. The rum jug went to "the store" as often as the molasses jug. "Rum" was free to sell and buy everywhere, without license, until after 1840. I worked hard for temperance. Were "half of the people drunkards?" No! Were one-quarter of the people drunkards? No! Were one-hundredth part of the people drunkards? No!

There were about 2,500 people in our town. There are four men who get drunk pretty often. One was a rich farmer; one was a "well-to-do" farmer; one was "a lazy good-for-nothing"; one was a day laborer. The temperance workers preached "temperance" about five years and then preached total abstinence. At first wines and cider were not included in the pledge. After 1885 they were. The "cause" grew wonderfully, preached from a hygienic and moral standpoint. Soon after 1843 the state enacted prohibition laws. The workers had latterly been looking forward to that as the perfect

consummation of our labors. We expected everything from it. All moral suasion ceased. Coercion took its place. It had proved a failure up to the time that I removed to the west, in 1857. "PA CHASE."

St. Louis, Mo.

## NOT A NATIONALIST.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: A letter published in THE STANDARD of April 23, written by one Warren Wasson, which refers to me as a "nationalist" is without foundation in fact and does me an injustice. I am not now, nor never have at any time been, a socialist or nationalist; but on the contrary am an absolute free trader and single tax man, unlimited, from the crown of my head to the soles of my feet, and have been once since reading "Progress and Poverty" in 1885. That I recently resigned from the Kansas City single tax club is true. My reasons for doing so were because the club was being prostituted to selfish purposes for personal ends, and because of the grossly immoral conduct of certain members. Trusting, that in justice to me, you will publish this, I am, yours for the single tax,

J. C. WILLIAMS.

Kansas City, Mo., April 26, 1890.

## ONE WAY TO DO WORK.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: The evidence daily multiplying of the rapid spread of a public desire to know more of the single tax doctrines, and how involuntary poverty may be abolished by the doing of justice, is most gratifying to every lover of humanity. And the new and original methods resorted to with so much success, by both individuals and associated workers, to catch public attention, show not only the earnestness, but the hard, practical common sense of single tax people, who not only know what they want but, for the most part, just how to get it.

Above every recent effort to spread a knowledge of our aims, the programme of the Memphis single tax association, as detailed by R. G. Brown, in THE STANDARD of the 5th inst., seems to promise the most gratifying and rapid results. To reach the farmers and village readers of the country newspapers by two columns each week of judiciously edited single tax literature, presented in the "patent inside" which most country weeklies make use of, must result in more rapid progress than the most sanguine of us have dared hope. We will be able in a short time—indeed, the first steps are already being reported in several localities—to bring the democratic party to take the same advanced position with reference to the single tax that the liberal parties of Great Britain and New South Wales have already assumed.

The Mascoutah Herald promptly accepted the offer of two columns weekly of single tax matter, which the Memphis association made, because the editor clearly sees the cat's profile, if not all of its shading. But many editors no doubt paid no attention to the offer made them, because public sentiment in their localities has not yet grown to demand it. Cannot our individual friends everywhere seize the opportunity and request their local papers to accept the offer made them. In this way widely scattered individuals can do a work out of all proportion to the paucity of their numbers. When the farmers' organizations see the light as the Knights of Labor have done, the democratic party will not be less radical than they. But, as Mr. Gladstone says, "it is the office of a politician to follow, not to lead, public sentiment." The public sentiment has been formed, the politicians will be falling over each other in their rush to keep up with the procession.

Mascoutah, Ill., March 8.

## "EMANCIPATION."

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: Shortly after the close of the late "unpleasantness" (during which the slave owners were emancipated, or relieved of their obligations to provide for their employes in sickness or slack times), I had a long talk with a man who had been a slave. He spoke to this effect:

I was raised in Norfolk Carolina. When de war fust broke out I was a slave—so dey called me. Dey say I am free now, but it pears to me Ise on'y free to starve to def, or to work mighty sight harder'n I did afoa. Ise got nuffin better; no more holidays; no more nuffin what's good. When I was a slave I was bound to one masser, an' he was bound to tend to me all his life. Now Ise free to leave a masser, and to starve to def. I was free to do that afoa! It pears to me Ise wuss off'n I was afoa. All de lan' is took up, an' I has no place to cultivate 'cept I does it for a lan'lord; den Ise his slave, wusser'n ever, cos I mus' work jes as hard as I did afoa, an' he don't give me as good clothes nor victuals, nor nuffin as good as I use to git; an' when Ise old, or took sick, he



gives me nuffin at all. He says, "Clar off'n my lan', you dam nigger."

Dey says dis yer is de lan' ob de free, but I sees no place to be free in. Ise got no right to be on the lan' at all, cos dis yer globe's all bought up. Dem us works mus' be slaves, so long as dey can't work for themselves. Ise free to be up in de air, or in de middle ob de ocean, but Ise not free on land, 'cept to starve to def. Dis yer globe is all bought up by de ladies and gentlemen. I wonder if dey will be lan'lords when dey gits to hebbin. I reckon dey'll own hebbin, jest as dey does dis yer earf. It 'pears to me dat de freedom dey talks 'bout is all foolishness. Pussions can't lib widout some place to lib in! It 'pears to me dat God don't charge no rent for dis yer earf, an' dat he didn't sell it to nobody. Dere's ben some mean stealin'.

Said I, "Do you ever wish you were a slave again?" "Yes, sah," he replied. "Ise wished dat mo'n a hun'rd times." And I think the "emancipated slave" supplied a text for a good sermon. WM. HARRISON RILEY.  
Townsend Center, Mass.

#### PERSONAL.

H. W. Mackinnon, who went to Oregon some six months ago, has gone into the wilds of the state of Washington and become a newspaper man. He is the associate editor of the Anacortes Progress, of Skagit county.

S. R. Shaw of Eastport, Me., has, in the Lewiston Daily Advocate of three late issues, three articles on "The single tax as a moral issue," which he has dedicated to the editor of the Lewiston Journal. It appears that the editor of that paper thought he could suppress a single tax man merely by refusing to print his letters. By this time he has found out his mistake. The publication of these letters by the Advocate has given Mr. Shaw an opportunity to present to the people of Maine the single tax idea in its fullness, and the Advocate advises all its readers to peruse them carefully. Mr. Shaw is to be congratulated on having secured so good a forum from which to explain the single tax, and the single tax is fortunate in having so able an advocate.

Joseph Dana Miller of Jersey City has a letter in the May issue of the Railroad Trainmen's Journal thanking it for the rebuke it administered to Professor Swing for his brutal statement that if workmen had more leisure they would spend the time in drinking. And then Mr. Miller gives some views on the single tax, which he hopes will remove some doubts which at present exist in the editorial mind.

Stanley S. Palmer, a well-known single tax man of Seneca Falls, is a patient at the New York hospital, where he is being treated for a knee trouble.

#### RECRUIT SUBSCRIPTION BOOKS FOR "THE STANDARD."

For the convenience of persons wishing to send THE STANDARD on trial to their friends, we have prepared recruit subscription books. They are handsomely bound in heavy alligator paper, and sold at prices regulated by the number of blanks in each book.

These blanks are each an order on THE STANDARD to send the paper for four weeks to the person designated, and they save all trouble of remittance as they are paid for in advance. As soon as one of the blanks reaches our business office a postal card is sent to the person designated, informing him that at the request of the sender THE STANDARD will be sent to him for four weeks, beginning with the next issue, and that in case he does not wish to continue it it will be stopped at the end of that time. This attracts more attention to it than is given to a sample copy sent out directly from the office.

Every active worker for the single tax should have in his pocket a recruit subscription book, in order that he may be able to tear out the blanks and order the paper sent to anyone with whom he has been having an argument on the subject. If our friends will use the stubs in the books and keep a record of those to whom they order the paper sent they will be able to follow the matter up and probably make converts. The price of the books is as follows:

Five subscriptions . . . . . \$1 00  
Twelve subscriptions . . . . . 2 00  
Thirty-five subscriptions . . . . . 5 00

THE STANDARD,  
No. 12 Union square, New York city.

#### WHERE'S THE ASSESSOR?

Bloomington, Ill., Leader.

Ise is going to be scarce this summer and a few concerns will venture to manufacture an artificial article. We must "encourage" them by putting a tax on their buildings and machinery. Let's get after them at once. Where's the assessor?

Mr. H. H. Green is building a \$10,000 house around on Grove street and employing a lot of labor, and by and by he will be shopping for a lot of fine furniture to put in it. Where's the assessor? Mr. Green must not be allowed to escape.

Mr. Thornton Snell is building a \$25,000 house. Where's the assessor? Poke him up and see that he gets Mr. Snell on the list.

Where—oh! where is the assessor?

## THE FREE TRADE FIGHT.

### DEBATING THE MCKINLEY BILL.

The debate on the tariff bill began in the house of representatives last Wednesday, May 7. Mr. McKinley opened with a two hour speech in favor of the bill, and Mr. Mills followed in opposition, in which the policy of the two parties on the bill was stated. All the amendments offered from the democratic side have been defeated. The supposition at this writing is that the bill will pass, and will go into effect within thirty days.

### READ GORDON ON THE TARIFF.

IN ITS RELATIONS TO MANUFACTURED FOOD PRODUCTS.

There was a fair attendance at the tariff reform class last Friday evening, May 9, at Cooper union, Room 21. Mr. Ellery Anderson, chairman of the tariff reform committee of the Reform club, in opening the meeting made a few remarks on the McKinley bill, which was discussed last week before congress—calling the attention of the class to the warnings heretofore given about the specious arguments that would be used by the protectionists to make a case for their side. He then introduced Mr. Read Gordon, who spoke on "The tariff in its relation to manufactured food products."

The original idea of a tax, said Mr. Gordon, was a rate or portion which direct producers in society paid to indirect producers for co-ordinating and superintending production, or for protecting them in their industry from the predatory incursions, thus increasing the opportunities of the workers to create much greater wealth than would have been possible otherwise. In this sense a tax is not a task, but a facility to production. Such a tax, if it could be equitably levied and collected upon worth, would not be a hardship, and such was originally the idea of a tax for communal wants. But a tariff is a tax laid upon consumption alone, and lacks the ability of man to place it so as to be equitably diffused in proportion to worth, and must in itself develop protective features in regard to certain vocations. It is conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity, inasmuch as it directly and intentionally restricts consumption, in the interest of a class, and, through limiting production, interferes in theory and practice with the inherent right of men to freely exchange their products, and lowers wages (in the economic sense), by curtailing the power of individuals to consume the products of their own toil, even.

American manufacturers of food products have been for years the victims of a system of compromise between weak-kneed tariff reform and high protection that have filled their days with unrequited labor and their souls with anguish. Their products are of such infinite variety that it would be more than useless to attempt an enumeration of more than a few classes, such as cereals, fruits, vegetables, fish, poultry, meats, game, etc., all more or less simple of compound. The necessity of properly introducing them to the consumer in the forms desirable requires the admixture often of ingredients subject to heavy tariff or internal revenue taxation, as well as the employment of coverings for handling and transportation, subject to the same system of taxation. Notable among the ingredients are sugars, salt, oils, spices, wine, alcohol, foreign fruit not grown in this country, and flavoring extracts. Among the packages for transportation are glass, stoneware, earthenware, wood, paper, cloth, metals, twine. The basic articles of manufacture are, in the great majority of instances, of American production, and under favorable conditions can be unlimitedly increased. They are our great staples; but the increased product will not be attained by taxing our consumers for the sugar, salt, spices, oils, etc., to be compounded with them, as well as the glass, tin, wood, paper, etc., used to envelope them, and then admitting the same compound products from other countries at a tariff rate so low that foreigners can sell under Americans on their own market. This may be an argument for a protective tariff. So be it, then. Let it come; but let it be logically protective—that is to say, prohibitory. Then, as business men, interested only in the present and self, we will at least have our home market to ourselves. But what about the people at large who desire to gratify themselves by consuming these goods? Will they be induced to do so more extensively? If a fair competition can be maintained among manufacturers, and the foreign items of admixture which cannot be produced here are entered free, they can do both, "provided the commodity is one which can, per se, be produced more cheaply here; otherwise not. Then why the protective tariff?"

If the fabrication be one which could be more cheaply produced in foreign lands, does not the consumer pay the American manufacturer or his employees the full difference between the cost at the gates and the cost inside the wall? And if not, why not? "Because he gets a home market for his own domestic product," is the protection answer. But where will he pay the increased price for the manufactured article enhanced by the tariff? Naturally, with his own products in exchange. Up again bows the protectionist, who says: "True; but the greater

demand from better paid manufacturing employees who are drawn from less profitable industries will equalize things once more, and your price will advance." If this be true *cui bono*? "Why, don't you see, man, you don't exchange with foreign countries, and hence your money remains home in circulation." "True," says the free trader, who knows the true function of money in facilitating exchange; "what is your money to-day?—a metal or metals, the product of your own mines and industry; a commodity itself, which finds its way around under the unfailing law of supply and demand, as any other exchangeable—wheat, whisky or leather. You are a precious metal producing country. You can get it more cheaply from the earth than any European nation. They need their exchanges to be facilitated as much as we do. They don't send us anything, and cannot get our precious metals. What is the consequence? A glut here, a scarcity there, unless they supply their wants from some other nation, to our detriment." Put on your thinking cap, Mr. Protectionist. What does this indicate? As surely as water rises to its fountain source when relieved of pressure, and as surely as it approaches it in direct proportion to decrease of pressure, so will the equalization between the extremes proceed. Precious metals plenty here, naturally cheap, takes a great deal of them to get few goods in exchange; scarce there, naturally high, a very little purchases large amounts in exchange.

I want to live long enough to see real genuine free trade. I cannot but feel that there is an immense measure of tariff reform possible, which will clear the field of rubbish and let in the light to men's minds. If congress will give us free sugars, salt, pepper, mustard, vinegar, spices, alcohol, wines, brandies, glasswares, iron and its derivatives, tin and its derivatives, metals, wood and its products, stoneware, earthenware, paper and twine, I will assert that the fruit, vegetable, fish, flesh and cereal packing companies of this country will treble their productions in five years at a decreased cost to the consumer, and increased wages to the employees; we will compete with Great Britain to her disadvantage, and on her own soil, to a large and constantly increasing extent; that the expansion of these industries will bring into use large idle tracts of land in neighborhoods of great cities, where labor, transportation, exchange, etc., are the most easily obtained and effective; that the abandoned New England farms will again be reinvested with their former values; and from where the wheat and rye may have gone forever, the pear, quince, raspberry, strawberry, currant, blackberry and blueberry become the profitable substitutes.

In every nation of the world England finds her market for her food products, interfered with only by us in inverse proportion to the amount of imported admixture of compounds or of envelopes, thanks to our tariff.

It seems to me, the whole theory of our national system of taxation has been to demonstrate the possibility of making "a silk purse out of a sow's ear," while the result of the process has been that the few have the silk purses, more have sow's ears, while the many, being deprived of their birthright, the right to freely exchange the products of their labors, have need for neither, and are somewhat in the condition of the Irishman who was solicited by a trunk vender to buy a trunk. "What for?" says Paddy. "To put your clothes in," says the vender. "Shame on you for a decent man, sir; would you have me go naked?"

After his address Mr. Gordon answered several questions, and Mr. Crossdale closed the meeting.

This coming Friday evening, May 16, Walter Page will address the class on "The farmer and the tariff."

#### PROTECTIONIST, TO A CERTAIN EXTENT.

The New York Tribune of May 9 prints an article four columns long, copied from the United States Tobacco Journal, addressed to congress, warning that body against increasing the duty on cigar wrapper leaf tobacco, on the ground that it will destroy the industry of cigar making in this country. Strange!

#### NOT SO SOLID, AFTER ALL.

The political committee of the Union league club had prepared a resolution endorsing the McKinley bill, and a meeting of the club was called for last Thursday evening to approve the resolution; but a strong opposition among the members made itself manifest, so strong that the committee did not present their resolution.

#### CLEVELAND'S LETTER TO FARMERS.

Steubenville, Ohio.—J. A. Hill, corresponding secretary of Oak Grove lodge, No. 22, Farmers' alliance, lately wrote to ex-President Cleveland, inclosing a copy of the declaration of the purposes of the alliance and asking for Mr. Cleveland's views thereon. Mr. Cleveland replied as follows:

I see nothing in this declaration that cannot be fully indorsed by any man who loves his country, who believes that the object of our government should be the freedom, prosperity and happiness of all our people, and who believes that justice and fairness to all are necessary conditions to its useful administration. It has always seemed to me that the farmers of the country were especi-

ally interested in an equitable adjustment of our tariff system.

The indifference they have shown to that question and the ease with which they have been led away from a sober consideration of their needs and their rights as related to this subject have excited my surprise.

Struggle as they may, our farmers must continue to be purchasers and consumers of numberless things enhanced in cost by tariff regulations. Surely they have the right to say that this cost shall not be increased for the purpose of collecting unnecessary revenue or to give undue advantage to domestic manufacturers. The plea that our infant industries need the protection which thus impoverishes the farmer and consumer is, in view of our natural advantages and the skill and ingenuity of our people, a hollow pretext.

Struggle as they may, our farmers cannot escape the conditions which fix the price of what they produce and sell according to the rates which prevail in foreign markets, flooded with the competition of countries enjoying freer exchange of trade than we. The plausible presentation of the blessings of a home market should not deceive our depressed and impoverished agriculturists. There is no home market for them which does not take its instructions from the seaboard; and the seaboard transmits the word of the foreign markets.

Because my conviction that there should be a modification of our tariff laws arose principally from an appreciation of the wants of the vast army of consumers, comprising our farmers, our artisans and our workmen, and because their condition has led me to protest against the present imposition, I am especially glad to see these sections of my fellow countrymen arousing themselves to the importance of tariff reform.

#### THE COW AND HER HOME MARKET.

THE STANDARD is not in the habit of giving merchants free advertisement, but it proposes to do so now, and the recipient of its favor is Mr. Sterling Elliott, who manufactures hickory bicycle wheels at Newton, Mass. Whether hickory wheels are better than steel wheels, we cannot say, but Mr. Elliott evidently believes so, and he is not afraid of competition, come whence it may. In answer to questions put to him as to the effect of the tariff on bicycles, he says:

During early life we were permitted to associate, more or less, with cattle (this may account for many things about which our friends have wondered). Among our former companions was a cow, whose offspring had at a tender age been taken from her to be made into turtle soup. Her maternal instinct was strong, and in her grief she wandered far into the woods and thus her owner was unable to perform the functions formerly attended to by the calf. Finding herself in need of relief, having a long neck and a belief in patronizing home industries, she was able to take from her own udder the milk that was "seeking an outlet." Indulged in at first as a necessity (a sort of "war measure," as it were), the habit grew upon her until she came to consider it quite the proper thing and declined other forms of nourishment. Our employer attempted in various ways to make obvious her error. "It is true," said he, "she is getting fourteen quarts of good rich milk every day, but she doesn't consider where it comes from." She was still unwilling to swap her own product so as to get more nourishing food which could be produced by others at a profit, and insisted on keeping out "foreign competition," determined to supply herself with sustenance at whatever cost. Well, the cow couldn't see it otherwise, but her owner did, and when her body got so much poorer that her head found nothing from which to get fatter, he put her in a straight jacket, and when she got to eating the right sort of cheaper food she produced milk enough when sold in the open market to more than twice pay for it. And the people who raised the hay and grain made a profit so that they could afford to buy the milk. They tell us that if English made bicycles were admitted duty free into this country, it would drive out of business the American makers. We deny this, but let that pass and suppose that American makers could not compete. What of it? Is the one man who makes wheels of more consequence than the ninety and nine who want to buy? We wot not, as Coleridge would say. Personally we are young and green and may be "away off" on these things, but we don't want to be protected, even from the jeers of those who don't know the virtues of Hickory Wheels. When we can't hold our own, provisions are made for us to be supported at the public expense, but we want it called by its right name, and then the public know what they are paying for.

#### THEN THE TARIFF IS A TAX.

Boston Globe.

Chairman McKinley, in his opening speech defending his tariff bill, laid great stress upon the fact that the bill provides for refunding all but one per cent of the duty on those raw materials which, after manufactured into a finished product, are exported. This, he said, completely disposes of the argument that if the manufacturers only had free raw materials they could compete in the markets of the world.

Could there be a more innocent admission that the tariff is a tax upon the American consumer?

The taxes paid upon articles to be exported are to be refunded, but the taxes paid upon goods intended for home consumption are not. That is to say, the foreigner will get American goods cheap and untaxed, but the American citizen must pay dear for the same goods.

Mr. McKinley could hardly have said more plainly that the tariff is a tax.

#### CRUEL, BUT TRUE.

St. Louis Post Dispatch.

Dana belongs to a class of alleged democrats who could greatly strengthen the party by leaving it.



## SINGLE TAX NEWS.

## SINGLE TAX PLATFORM.

The single tax contemplates the abolition of all taxes upon labor or the products of labor—that is to say, the abolition of all taxes save one tax levied on the value of land, irrespective of improvements.

Since in all our states we now levy some tax on the value of land, the single tax can be instituted by the simple and easy way of abolishing, one after another, all other taxes now levied, and commensurately increasing the tax on land values, until we draw upon that one source for all expenses of government; the revenue being divided between local governments, state governments and the general government, as the revenue from direct taxes is now divided between the local and state governments, or a direct assessment being made by the general government upon the states and paid by them from revenues collected in this manner.

The single tax is not a tax on land, and therefore would not fall on the use of land and become a tax on labor.

It is a tax, not on land, but on the value of land. Thus it would not fall on all land, but only on valuable land, and on that not in proportion to the use made of it, but in proportion to its value—the premium which the user of land must pay to the owner, either in purchase money or in rent, for permission to use valuable land. It would thus be a tax, not on the use or improvement of land, but on the ownership of land, taking what would otherwise go to the owner as owner, and not as user.

In assessments under the single tax all values created by individual use or improvement would be excluded, and the only value taken into consideration would be the value attaching to the bare land by reason of neighborhood, etc. Thus the farmer would have no more taxes to pay than the speculator who held a similar piece of land idle, and the man who on a city lot erected a valuable building would be taxed no more than the man who held a similar lot vacant.

The single tax, in short, would call upon men to contribute to the public revenues not in proportion to what they produce or accumulate, but in proportion to the value of the natural opportunities they hold. It would compel them to pay just as much for holding land idle as for putting it to its fullest use.

The single tax, therefore, would—

1. Take the weight of taxation off of the agricultural districts where land has little or no value irrespective of improvements, and put it on towns and cities where bare land rises to a value of millions of dollars per acre.
2. Dispense with a multiplicity of taxes and a horde of taxgatherers, simplify government and greatly reduce its cost.
3. Do away with the fraud, corruption and gross inequality inseparable from our present methods of taxation, which allow the rich to escape while they grind the poor. Land cannot be hid or carried off, and its value can be ascertained with greater ease and certainty than any other.
4. Give us with all the world as perfect freedom of trade as now exists between the states of our Union, thus enabling our people to share through free exchanges in all the advantages which nature has given to other countries, or which the peculiar skill of other peoples has enabled them to attain. It would destroy the trusts, monopolies, and corporations which are the outgrowths of the tariff. It would do away with the fines and penalties now levied on any one who improves a farm, erects a house, builds a machine, or in any way adds to the general stock of wealth. It would leave every one free to apply labor or expend capital in production or exchange without fine or restriction, and would leave to each the full product of his exertion.
5. It would, on the other hand, by taking for public uses that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities unused or only half used, and would throw open to labor the illimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, do away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations to the full earnings of labor, make overproduction impossible until all human wants are satisfied, render labor saving inventions a blessing to all, and cause such an enormous production and such an equitable distribution of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.

The ethical principles on which the single tax is based are:

1. Each man is entitled to all that his labor produces. Therefore no tax should be levied on the products of labor.
2. All men are equally entitled to what God has created and to what is gained by the general growth and improvement of the community of which they are a part. Therefore, no one should be permitted to hold natural opportunities without a fair return to all for any special privilege thus accorded to him, and that value which the growth and improvement of the community attaches to land should be taken for the use of the community.

## NOTES TAKEN DURING A DAY'S RAMBLE.

Savannah, Ga.—On May 1 took a trip to Sackville, about three miles from town. Took Belt line road through town. All along the route I could see unpainted houses and houses going to decay, because if they paint or improve they will be fined for it by the tax assessor. On the outskirts of the city there is vacant land enough to house a hundred thousand people. Got off cars. Saw signs of lots for sale at \$25 cash and \$5 until paid for. Walked a mile on city and suburban railway to Thomas station. Found sign to Sackville. Walked down the road to look at a lot that I bought. While there Mr. Sack drove up, and in our conversation found that he was a very good single tax man.

Mr. Sack has another tract of land outside of the piece that he has cut up in lots, which the land pirates wanted him to sell to them. I got in his wagon and rode to town with him. We passed a large tract there which he says belongs to the McCloskys, and which they will neither use nor sell. Next was a large tract owned by the DeReenes family. The old man is dead, but he left the land, and, I suppose, some money, as his children don't use the land but let a few negroes live on it for rent. On the other side of the road there is a tract that has just been sold for \$30,000. I said that I would bet that it was not taxed at the rate of \$5,000, and he said it was not.

After we got off Water's road, coming toward town, we saw where the belt line would run and go by Sackville. On both sides of the road there is a lot of vacant land, plowed and leveled, to be cut up into lots and sold at the rate of \$100 to \$1,000 per lot. They intend to make the people that want to use these lots pay for road, rolling stock and all, and then levy toll on them forever, if the people are asses enough to let them. Mr. Sack said if this is not stopped we will soon be in the condition of the people of Europe. I had some petitions in my pocket, and said to him: "How is this for a remedy?" He said, "This is just what is wanted." I will give him my STANDARD this week. It will be light in the darkness. I wish you could have seen him when I showed him the petition.

GARRETT MAHON.

## THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLMENT COMMITTEE,  
12 UNION SQUARE,  
NEW YORK, May 13, 1890.

The single tax enrolment committee is circulating a petition asking the United States house of representatives to appoint a special committee to make inquiry into and report upon the expediency of raising all public revenues by a single tax upon the value of land, irrespective of improvements, to the exclusion of all other taxes, whether in the form of tariffs upon imports, taxes upon internal productions or otherwise. It will send blank petitions on application to any address, and single tax men are urged to obtain petitions and obtain signatures as a most convenient and effective way of starting the discussion.

The following additional clubs have been heard from regarding the proposed conference:

For Conference.	Place.	Time.
Paterson S. T. club	New York	Mr. G's return
Chicago S. T. club	New York	Mr. G's return

Members of clubs favoring conference 4, opposed to conference 7, doubtful or non-committal 4.

As place of meeting, New York as first choice has 25 votes, Chicago 7, Niagara 6, Washington and Philadelphia 2, St. Louis 1 (one club makes no choice of place).

Subscriptions toward the expenses of this committee's work for the week ending May 13 are as follows:

Chas. Wehle (add.), Newark, N. J.	\$0 50
Subscriptions previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD	\$3,333 10
Total	\$3,333 60
Less subscription cancelled	3 75
Total	\$3,329 85

This is the total sum subscribed for the year, and it is paid in in monthly instalments. Cash contributions for the same period are as follows:

Wm. R. Boyd, Savannah, Ga.	\$1 00
Ed. Farrell, Philadelphia, Pa.	50
"Cash," Oak Hill, N. Y.	10
J. W. Harb, Corning, Ark.	50
Geo. C. Madison, St. Paul, Minn.	2 03
Contributions previously acknowledged	758 45
Total	\$769 58

The enrolment now stands as follows:

Reported last week	80,286
Signatures received since last report	1,144
Total	81,430

For single tax news of the week, see "Roll of States" below.

G. ST. J. LEAVENS, Sec.

## NEW YORK CITY.

THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB AT HOME—A GREAT MEETING—HOW THE ROOMS WERE FILLED UP.

The removal of the Manhattan single tax club to its new quarters at 73 Lexington avenue has again brought out the energetic spirit that was displayed by the members when the

club moved to St. Mark's place. In order to properly fix up the club rooms a lot of work was necessary and decorations wanted. No sooner were these suggestions made than the members took off their coats and began to carry them out. Jerome O'Neill came to the club evenings, after his day's work was done, and did the paper hanging and decorating; George Everett the carpenter work; Paul Boesig fixed up the billiard table and tacked down carpets; Benj. Doblin sent in some oil paintings, and other members pictures, which Morris Van Veen had had framed, and then he hung them; A. J. Wolf attended to the gas fixtures; Messrs. Protin and Van Veen made a handsome polished brass sign, with the name of the club on it, which now ornaments the front of the house. The rubbing and scrubbing and other work was done by other members, and when the time came to have the opening dinner last Thursday evening the rooms looked beautiful. J. T. Altemus, a well known newspaper man of this city and one of the leaders of the ballot reform movement in New Jersey, together with George Simon, cooked the very fine dinner which was served to the members.

The dinner began at 8 o'clock and lasted two hours. When it was disposed of Chairman Post rapped for order. He congratulated the club on the elegance of its new quarters, and called on the members to use every reasonable effort from now on to increase its membership. He then explained, for the benefit of friends present who were not single tax men, what the single tax is. Then he introduced the guest of the evening, Mr. Horace E. Deming, who was greeted with great applause.

Mr. Deming gave an interesting history of the ballot reform movement in this state, saying that the first bill had been framed as the result of a discussion in the Commonwealth club early in 1887. He told of the care that had been given in framing the bill by some of the most thoughtful men in this community, how it had been presented to the legislature, and passed, and vetoed; how, session after session, it had been offered in amended form, and passed, and vetoed, until at last public opinion had forced the politicians to accept the law just passed and signed. Mr. Deming explained the new bill in detail, for, said he, "You men of the Manhattan single tax club are the men who go forth as apostles and raise your voices among the gentiles; therefore it is meet that you should know these things, if you do not already know them. You are practical, and it will be by being so that you will eventually accomplish the sum of your desires—the single tax." Mr. Deming declared himself an absolute free trader, as were the members of the club now gathered about him. In conclusion, he congratulated the members of the club on the reputation they had made as active workers in reform, and on their beautiful new home.

E. Yancey Cohen was then called to the front and read the following poem on the new house, which was greeted with applause:

In the "Alceste" of Euripides,  
You may have read, if Greek you read with ease,  
A chorus to the *mise en scene* address'd,  
And chanted by th' assistants at their best.  
The ode is from the drama's plot apart—  
'Tis just a little lyric of the heart:  
E'en as to-night around we glance with pride,  
And play the happy part of host and guide.  
"Hail, open house, to guest and wanderer free!"

Thus ran the ode—and it my text shall be.  
"Apollo, lord of music, latch'd thy door,  
And thrum'd his heavenly lyre here of yore."

Tho' King Admetus's palace, in the play,  
More glories had than e'en the god of day,  
Silent the chorus is, we must admit,  
On other special features touching it.  
But our fair House, without the poet's art—  
Playing no tragic nor no comic part—  
A diverse beauty has, it seems to me,  
In what it is, and what it hopes to be!

Three times the circling May days have come round

Since our ancestral cellar underground,  
And thrice our single brind'd Cat hath mew'd,

Each time his useful life has been renew'd.  
Our lures and penates still remain  
As when we built our castles first in Spain;  
While place we've found for many a sturdier guest

In this our latest stronghold and our best.

I'll not point out what everybody sees,  
Nor act the guide, for fear the guide displease.

These rooms—from praising them I will defer—

That claim the language of the connoisseur.  
I will not mention here the volumes rare  
That grace our library above the stair;  
I'll e'en forego to mark that sanctum neat,

Tho' Williams says its curtains are a treat!  
Why should we peer in all the private nooks  
Where gentlemen bestow their hats on hooks?  
What need to view the billiard room, the bar,  
Or call by other name our best oigar?

From such a plan 'tis meet to refrain,  
And ope' our bosoms to a nobler strain!  
I would that I could tell our pride, our joy,  
Or something of the poet's power employ,  
To voice the thoughts that spring, an ardent

through,

To pledge the welcome and to lift the song!

Empty the stateliest palace, proud and fair,  
If honor, faith and love be wanting there;

Richer this house than shrine of priest or king,

For spoken here, words have an honest ring!  
We've bound ourselves to fight fair Ormuzd's fight,

To follow Truth and battle for the Right;  
To ope' anew the charter of our birth,  
The charter to our equal rights on earth!

Then hail, new House! to guest and wanderer free—

Hail, brothers all, at home, across the sea!  
And one dear friend! whose standard, pure and bright,

Wav'd 'neath the Southern Cross, we see to-night,

Whose voice we hear, amid the far refrain  
Of freemen thundering cheer on cheer again,  
We waft you greetings wheresoe'er you roam,

And wait with love to give you welcome home!

Captain Matthews responded to the toast:

"Our absent friend and prophet" in a most touching address. As a boy in Scotland, he said, he had been a searcher for truth and justice. He went into the late war to help liberate the black man, but felt after the war was over that they had been freed only to a certain extent, and that the shackles were tightening about the white man. He had sought for truth and justice in religion, and had at one time been a circuit preacher for the Methodist church. But the truth found in religion had not satisfied his yearnings. Ten years ago he began to read "Progress and Poverty." He read it again and again. Here at last was the truth. "With swelling heart and with the courage of absolute conviction I declare that the writer of that grand book is right. Divine inspiration breathes in every page. At last my cravings for truth and justice have been satisfied. The path is open before me, and I know whither it leads. To our friend and prophet under the Southern Cross I send love and greeting." The captain concluded his address amid a storm of applause.

William T. Croasdale was the next speaker, his subject being "Free Trade." To talk free trade to the Manhattan single tax club was, in his opinion, a waste of time. They were all free traders, absolute, not because it was the summit of their desires, but because it was a stepping stone to the single tax. Mr. Croasdale dwelt on the methods by which the reform for which the Manhattan club stood could be accomplished. The work of this club, said he, should be on congressional lines—we must work to send to congress at the next election as many free traders as possible. New York city ought to bow its head in shame when it looks over the men who represent it in Washington.

We have now, practically, the Australian ballot. Our work now lies in the direction of sending men of brains—free traders—to congress.

William McCabe was then called on, and read a brief sketch of the club from its inception to the time of holding the dinner.

Then A. J. Steers gave an outline of the work of the club on the warpath. In closing his remarks he spoke feelingly of a calamity that had befallen Jerome O'Neill, who, just as he finished papering the rooms on the previous evening, received a dispatch telling him that his brother had been killed, near Yonkers, by being run over by a railroad train.

Messrs. Werner of Newark and Rand of Brooklyn responded to the toast, "Our Sister Clubs," the latter gentleman calling attention to the fact that the Brooklyn club had secured new and more commodious quarters at 198 Livingston street, where they would be glad to see the members of the Manhattan club on the occasion of the opening, of which the Manhattan club would be notified.

Mr. Lawrence Dunham said he had been much affected by the news of the sad death of Jerome O'Neill's brother, and he felt that the club owed it to Mr. O'Neill to show its sympathy, and he offered resolutions to that effect, which were adopted by a rising vote.

Mr. Post then said that a committee of the club was preparing a circular inviting the single tax men of the country to become non-resident members of the Manhattan club, and he hoped it would be generally responded to.

The hours having grown late, the meeting was adjourned.

It was a delightful evening, intellectually and gastronomically.

To-morrow (Thursday) evening John De Witt Warner will lecture before the club on "The absolute liberation of personal property from taxation."

## BROOKLYN.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE NEW HOME OF THE SINGLE TAXERS.

W. F. Withers, Brooklyn.—On the evening of the 7th inst. the Brooklyn single tax club held the first meeting in their new club house, No. 198 Livingston street, near Hoyt. The club has leased the whole house and will occupy two floors. The commodious double parlors will be used for business meetings, debates, lectures and social entertainments. At the rear end of the hall there is a very comfortable room lighted by four large windows, which will be fitted up as a library and reading room. On the second floor, front, is the billiard room furnished with an



excellent table, and in the back room will be placed a pool table, card tables, etc. The cafe of the club will be in the basement, where hot coffee and sandwiches can be obtained at moderate prices.

Over the library is the executive chamber, as we may call it. This room is furnished with a desk and an iron safe for the use of the financial secretary, and here the managing board will meet every Saturday night to devise plans and perfect schemes for the advancement of the cause of industrial emancipation.

Everything is yet in disorder; but within the house shall have been cleared up, the carpets laid and the furniture placed in position, the members of the club want their friends and neighbors to come in and inspect the most commodious and convenient single tax club house in the country.

At the last meeting a resolution was unanimously adopted, indorsing the Breckinridge bill for the relief of farmers and manufacturers, and hoping that the minority in congress would at least force discussion of the bill, so that all might see who are, and who are not, the friends of the unprotected farmer and manufacturer.

The members of the club request their friends to remember the sociable, on the evening of the 21st inst., and not to forget the place, No. 198 Livingston, near Hoyt, two blocks from Kings county L road station.

#### NEW YORK STATE.

##### GROWING SLOWLY BUT SURELY—FARMERS TALKING.

R. S. Ganoung, Seneca Falls.—Our principles are growing here slowly but surely. We have done much seed sowing, which will manifest itself when the "latter rains" come on. I have had quite a discussion in one of our village papers, with several correspondents, in answer to a question by the editor: "Will some free trader please tell us how protection fosters trusts?" It was an easy one and I could not help speaking right out; the result was the "old liners" jumped onto me, but before the curtain was rung down by the editor it got quite warm and the readers were treated to several columns of free trade single tax news. And so the good fight goes on—here a little and there a little, line upon line, precept upon precept. And when the sun comes out bright and clear, as it is sure to do by and by, we ourselves will be astonished to see how numerous we are.

J. S. Cogan, New Brighton, S. I.—The Richmond county single tax club will shortly open their cart tail campaign, holding meetings at all the principal points on the island. The expense will be considerable, and all sympathizers are requested to make donation to this fund. Donations can be sent to the secretary, A. B. Stoddard, West Brighton, S. I. Our agitation has been conducted on local lines lately, and the outlook is particularly bright.

F. G. Anderson, Jamestown.—The farmers and people about here have commenced talking single tax in the grocery stores of evenings, some in favor and some in opposition. That's all right. Discussion is the thing.

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

##### GETTING SIGNERS TO THE PETITION.

Willard W. Gray, Lynn.—A list of 200,000 names of signers to the petition by next fall would afford significant reading for politicians.

T. E. Devitt, Lynn.—I have lots of calls for our tracts. People are beginning to show an interest in the single tax and free trade.

#### PENNSYLVANIA.

##### A PROPOSITION WHICH OUGHT TO BE ACTED ON.

Uncle Tom, Bryn Mawr.—To push the cause I propose:

1. Let a prominent single tax clergyman, say Father Huntington, prepare an address to the clergy at large, setting forth our aims, etc.

2. Let those single tax clergymen explain the single tax to clergymen of their own denomination, either by letters, tracts or otherwise.

3. As Pope Leo XIII has begun to inaugurate world-wide social reform movements, let every single tax club in the United States, Canada and elsewhere pass resolutions, etc., pointing out the justice of the single tax, and send same to his holiness; and,

4. Let every believer in the single tax singly write at least one letter to Pope Leo XIII. My letter is in preparation. If our cause is right the clergy has no right to conceal the truth; if we are wrong they should condemn us.

Wm. Hancock, Wyoming.—The Wilkesbarre Telephone and Kingdon Daily Morning Times are publishing my single tax articles approvingly. The Telephone editors say that the farmers are getting well prepared to receive and approve our theories and methods. I am now meeting with great success in getting signatures to the petition.

J. B. Miller, Erie.—Very few of the laboring men that I approach are acquainted with the single tax, and yet they are conscious of the evil of our present methods of taxation,

and a very few words convince them that the single tax would benefit them, and they readily sign the blanks of the enrolment committee.

James Tarmey, Philadelphia.—I feel that victory will soon crown our efforts.

#### OHIO.

##### EASIER TO GET PEOPLE TO LISTEN THAN IT USED TO BE.

William T. Hoover, Dayton.—People are, in my opinion, more willing to listen to single tax arguments now than a year ago.

W. H. McCarthy, Cleveland.—I hope the enrolment committee will soon reach the 100,000 mark.

James Sample, Cincinnati.—Our single tax club is in a rather comatose condition at present, nevertheless the single tax principle is making rapid strides and appearing in surprisingly strange places.

#### ILLINOIS.

##### HONORING GOOD MEN—NEWS FROM CHICAGO—SENDING IN THE PETITION—THE QUINCY WORKINGMEN SEND QUESTIONS TO CANDIDATES FOR OFFICES.

Warren Worth Bailey, Chicago.—B. W. Crowell, a gentleman who mixes his single tax with protectionism, read a paper before our club last night, in which he did his best to prove that taxation is a blessing. Mr. Crowell was listened to with the most marked attention as he reeled off Mr. Robt. P. Porter's and Mr. Blaine's "statistics" by the yard and quoted generously from the latter's remarkable "reply" to Mr. Gladstone. He was followed by Mr. Leon Hornstein in opposition. Robert Cumming of Duquoin took part in the discussion also, speaking for five minutes with remarkable clearness and force, and winding up with a bit of verse which fitly capped the climax. J. T. Ripley and F. W. Meadows also took issue with Mr. Crowell on the protection theory. The meeting was a great success.

Miss Leonora Beck, one of our vice-presidents, has received an invitation to address the Denver club en route to California. She has not accepted as yet, but I have urged her to do so, because I know she can do herself and the cause justice, although she modestly thinks otherwise. She delivered an address before the club a week ago last night on "The single tax from the teacher's standpoint" that was most cordially received, the only adverse criticism I heard being directed against its brevity. But short as it was, it was wonderfully effective, leading to a discussion that brought out an unusual number of bright and timely remarks from various speakers, among them Robert Cumming, who was then here as a delegate to the joint conference of miners and mine operators called to adjust wages for the current year.

Mr. John Z. White will be the speaker next Thursday evening, when we expect to have some notable visitors.

A favorable report on our memorial to the city council asking for a committee to investigate the inequalities of local taxation, has been submitted by the judiciary committee, and we expect that the council will take final action on Monday evening. If we succeed in this, we believe that we can do very much to advance the cause by showing up the woful shortcomings of the present iniquitous system of taxation.

Frank W. Irwin, Chicago.—At the last meeting of our club Father Huntington of New York city and Judge James G. Maguire were elected to honorary membership, as a recognition of the great work they are doing in behalf of the single tax.

J. M. Place, Chicago.—I consider the work of the enrolment committee of great importance and would like to see it become a second Anti-corn law league. I will try to do my share.

Louis Lesaulnier, Red Bud.—I have just sent the committee another lot of signed petitions. Every one of the signers had the single tax thoroughly explained by me, and in addition received one or more blank petitions (of the kind which have explanations on the back), my card, a STANDARD or a tract, accompanied by an earnest request to study the subject and talk with all their neighbors about it.

The most effective argument I use now is about as follows: We have the same equal and inalienable right which the Indian has to all land, that is, the right to use it; and in order to do justice (and this is always the best policy) we want the government to collect all ground rents and use them for the good of the people.

This makes us all ground renters, and everybody gets full value for the ground rent he pays in a monopoly of land which he can only hold against the equal right of every other man. This makes all taxes, licenses and tariffs unnecessary, and we can afford to be honest when the assessor comes around, as we will not be robbed, but only return the value of a privilege we monopolize, and which is not the fruit of our industry, only a superior chance to make money if we will only use it reasonably.

These ground rents, if spent in making improvements for the people, return to the peo-

ple in increased ground rents, and do not go into the pockets of individuals who do not earn them. At present we pay ground rent and taxes. Henry George would take off the taxes, and as all idle or poorly used land, if valuable, would be forced into the market, ground rents would be comparatively lower.

The Australian ballot reform is universally approved in my neighborhood. I hear of many converted protectionists, and mere tariff reformers are frequently changed to absolute free traders. Continued agitation and education must bring victory to the ideas of Henry George and his followers.

C. F. Perry, Quincy.—On the 2d inst. our club listened to an address by a member in reply to Mr. Collins's opposition address of some time ago. The reply appeared to be satisfactory.

We are quietly collecting facts regarding irregularities in assessments here, but the work is necessarily slow.

Our spring election resulted in giving us a democratic mayor instead of a republican one, as was the last.

This fall we will have to elect from this county a congressman, a state senator and three assemblymen. Our club and the labor organizations here have prepared a series of questions, which we will send to every aspirant for office. Of the candidates for congress we shall ask that they favor (1) a strict enforcement of the United States eight-hour law, (2) a strict enforcement of the anti-contract alien labor law, (3) the appointment of a special committee for the purpose of making a full inquiry into, and report upon, the expediency of raising all public revenues by a single tax upon the value of land, irrespective of improvements, to the exclusion of all other taxes, whether in the form of tariffs upon imports, taxes upon internal productions, or otherwise.

The aspirants for the legislature must answer: Whether they will: (1) Vote for the Australian system of voting. (2) Vote for the appointment of a special committee to make a full inquiry into and report in time for action at that session, in relation to trusts and similar combinations designed to artificially raise prices. (3) Vote for an amendment to the state eight-hour law, adopted in 1867, which will provide that in all public work in this state, to be paid for by the state, or by any city, town or village within the state, all contracts or sub-contracts, by whomsoever made, shall specify eight hours labor as a day's work. (4) Vote for the appointment of a special committee to make a full inquiry into, and report in time for action at that session, as to the expediency of submitting to the vote of the people a constitutional amendment exempting from all taxation all products of industry; and substituting one tax, based on the value of unimproved land; to be levied on all land of value, and according to value, not valuing any improvements on the land; and where mortgages exist on land, requiring the mortgage to share the tax on the value of such land, the tax to be the same on the land held for speculation as if it were in use. (5) Vote for a law making it a criminal offense to counterfeit any trade union label.

#### KENTUCKY.

##### TO ORGANIZE IN LOUISVILLE FOR BALLOT REFORM.

Chris. Landolt, Louisville.—By request the single taxites of Louisville are hereby invited to attend a meeting at Wibbels' printing office, 259 E. Market street, Saturday evening May 17th. The object of the meeting will be to discuss the proper steps to be taken so as to secure for the state of Kentucky the Australian system of voting in the coming constitutional convention.

James Erwin, Lexington.—The progress of the movement is very gratifying to me. I have not been able to do much in the past to help it along, but in the future I will endeavor to do my share of the work.

#### MICHIGAN.

##### THE EIGHT HOUR MOVEMENT—WHAT TO DO NEXT.

J. R. Gibbons, Saginaw.—Well, the first day of May has come and gone, and with credit to the labor organizations, as much trouble was expected in some of the large cities. It showed good generalship on the part of the leaders. I hope the men have gained the day; but can they clinch the advantage forced from capital? Is there not another class—the real foe, the men who own the earth, to which both labor and capital must bow down in humble submission and pay tribute before they can unite forces and continue the struggle for existence?

Among the signatures which I have sent to the enrolment committee is that of an old and prominent locomotive engineer on the F. & P. M. railroad, who saw the "cat" long ago. He is doing good work among his fellow engineers.

E. M. Mitchell, Detroit.—Signers to the petition of the enrolment committee are easy to get here. I believe, if well handled, that three-fourths of this community would sign these petitions; but how much work they would do for the cause would be hard to tell. And yet there is no single tax club that I know of.

George Hicks, Hersey.—I am surprised at my success in securing signatures to the petition; and I believe a good lecture would do a great deal toward creating an interest in the single tax here. At present I believe I am the only man in this county that advocates a single tax on land values. Yet a great many show interest, and listen attentively when I talk to them about it.

#### MISSOURI.

##### PREPARING FOR AN ACTIVE CAMPAIGN IN ST. LOUIS.

Perey Pepoon, St. Louis.—At the business meeting of the Single tax league Monday, the executive committee was authorized to inaugurate a movement for the submission of a constitutional amendment providing for abolition of all taxation except on land values. As soon as the petitions to the legislature are printed the active campaign will begin, and while our attention, up to the time the congressional campaign begins, will be chiefly directed to this local single tax issue, we shall not neglect the national petition.

A communication was read from Labor Commissioner Wright giving assurance of his intention to make an investigation of the probable effects of the single tax.

At Tuesday evening's meeting Sheridan Webster made the principal address, and was followed by a number of others.

Gus A. Meuser, St. Louis.—My brother, who is a farmer at Palmyra, is doing proselyting among the citizens of that part of the state. Things are moving our way here, because among the most active workers in the eight-hour movement are our single tax men. Later on, when the present absorbing movement has subsided, we will bring up our phase of the labor movement.

#### SOUTH DAKOTA.

##### BROKAW BECOMING A TYPESETTER—THE MARCH OF THE PETITION.

W. E. Brokaw, Watertown.—Any literature sent to me can be used.

Last week the sickness of a compositor, the drunkenness of another and several other things, put our paper (the Watertown Journal) in jeopardy. So I went to the cases and although I never set but one stick of type before in my life, I set up nearly three columns of the Journal in as many days. This week I am setting up the single tax news that will appear in the Journal.

I don't miss many opportunities to present the petition or to say something for the cause. Nearly all my waking hours are devoted to the work, so that I am a veritable single tax crank. I never refuse any offer of aid for the work, no matter what its source, so that any literature that is sent me will be thankfully received and put where it will do good.

Isaac Howe, Redfield.—The circuit court will be in session here next week, and I think I can get fifty or more signatures to the petition of the enrolment committee. I have an invitation to explain the single tax to farmers' alliance on the 10th inst.

#### CALIFORNIA.

##### THE CAT BECOMING VISIBLE—STUBBORN OP- PONENTS OF THE SINGLE TAX.

Isaac McCloskey, Santa Monica.—Times are harder here than ever known before.

The cat is beginning to be seen by quite a number in our little town. Whatever may be the fate of the disinherited it gives me no little consolation to help what I can in their uplifting.

O. L. Long, San Jose.—I find that the men that refuse to sign the petition of the enrolment committee, and the most stubborn opposing the single tax, are those that, most likely, never owned a foot of soil. The tariff delusion is fast losing its grip among the working classes here.

H. M. Rhodes, Pasadena.—I find the petition blanks very useful. Many of those whom I solicit for signatures ask me to let them take the blank home to study. A prominent business man, a republican and protectionist, who kept a blank to study at leisure, told me to-day that free trade would win in 1899.

#### MAINE.

E. M. Edwards, Oldtown.—Although Maine is rarely represented in the "Roll of States," I know that a steady progress is being made here in the line of correct economic thought. In my rounds as a traveling salesman I am constantly coming in contact with men who are able and enthusiastic advocates of the single tax.

The course of THE STANDARD in supporting those who have had the courage to demand a repeal of our present barbarous tax system, however short of our theory they may have stopped, has been most wise and salutary.

#### GEORGIA.

William R. Boyd, Atlanta.—My interest in the unselfish work of the enrolment committee continues unabated. Single tax sentiment gains ground. It is not generally discussed nor appreciated, but gains new adherents in this section. Our southern papers could dis-



pose of the outside twaddle of "race issue," by taking up and supporting the single tax and all it involves—to do away with land ownership; to abolish the iniquitous tariff; to substitute argument for force; to render unnecessary army and navy to bring about the era of peace—this seems to be our work, a work not to be done in a day, but certain not to fail.

#### CONNECTICUT.

W. G. Spencer, Thomaston.—In my opinion THE STANDARD is the best tract that can be sent to those we are trying to convert.

#### NEW JERSEY.

J. A. Craig, Paterson.—Our club will hereafter meet every Sunday evening at 7.30 p. m. at the same place.

#### INDIAN TERRITORY.

Thomas Howie, Vinita, Cherokee nation.—An Australian friend sent me all the Sydney papers containing accounts of Mr. George's arrival and speeches which I have read with great interest. I use to live in that country, and I trace with eagerness his tour over it. I know that his work in the cause will do great good.

#### WOES OF WORKING WOMEN.

CLERGYMEN OF ALL DENOMINATIONS DEMAND FOR THEM SHORTER HOURS AND BETTER TREATMENT.

The mass meeting held by the Working women's society at Chickering hall on Tuesday evening, May 6, was in many respects a remarkable and significant occasion.

The object of the meeting was to consider the conditions of employment in the retail store, a matter which, strange to say, although brought before the greater part of the community as individuals, as is not the case in the trades, has never before received public attention.

Co-operating with this society in its call were the names of over one hundred of the most prominent clergymen in the city, and out of this number five addressed the large and interested audience assembled. These were the Rev. Dr. Huntington of Grace church, the Rev. Dr. Faunce of the Fifth avenue Baptist church, the Rev. de Sola Mendes of Shaari Tefilla, the Rev. Father Elliott of the Paulist brothers, Rev. Dr. George Alexander of the Tenth street Presbyterian church, and Rev. Father Ducey of St. Leo's Catholic church.

The meeting was presided over by Hon. Everett P. Wheeler, who opened it in a brief and pointed speech, after which Mr. Archibald Sessions read a statement of facts, which the working women's society has been collecting through the winter, concerning the retail shops, and which presented such an arraignment that the sympathies of the audience were at once engaged against the exhibition of greed and lack of consideration made known. They were thus prepared to follow and applaud the sharp incisive attacks of the clergymen that followed.

The division of the subjects gave to Dr. Huntington the question of hours; Dr. Faunce, sanitary considerations; Rev. de Sola Mendes, wages; Dr. Alexander, the morale, and to Father Elliott, the duty of the consumer toward the evils to be redressed.

If the working women's society had done nothing more, it did much in presenting a platform on which representatives of churches so opposed could unite and work hand in hand so heartily. This appeared to be recognized and rejoiced in by the clergymen themselves, as they seconded one another handsomely.

The working women's society also did much in presenting an opportunity to these gentlemen to express themselves so openly and fearlessly on social questions and methods. Thus the Rev. Dr. Huntington electrified his audience by advocating fairly and squarely the eight-hour work day. This was a good deal to come out of conservative Grace church. But he did more. It seems that the proposed remedy is the formation of a consumers' league and the preparation of a white list, on which will be placed the names of those firms who deal most justly with their employees, and which will be patronized by the members of the league.

This species of back-action boycott was warmly commended by Dr. Huntington, who called upon the wealthy, fashionable women of New York to enroll themselves in so good a cause.

The white list was brought forward by each speaker in turn and eloquently urged. When it is remembered that these were clergymen, and those, too, not habitually seen on public platforms, from which fact comes their greater weight, the meeting must be considered one of unusual gravity and importance.

The following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, The condition of a considerable portion of our people is a question of vast

public importance, and a question in which every citizen has an interest; and

Whereas, The saleswomen and children employed in our retail dry goods shops form a numerous and important class in our city, and the statements presented at this meeting seem to abundantly prove that conditions deleterious to health, morality and happiness prevail, among which may be particularly enumerated the following: That the hours of employment are frequently excessive; the Saturday half-holiday not given; the toilet and other arrangements for the comfort of the employees defective and insanitary in many instances; the fines for tardiness excessive; and out of all proportion to the wages paid; the wages often inadequate; that children are employed under the legal age; the laws for the regulation of health are frequently disregarded; and that through a lack of careful supervision by employers and of careful selection of superintendents and floor walkers the female employees are often subjected to injustice, rudeness and even insult; and that these conditions are largely owing to causes which can be removed or alleviated by attention and interest of employers, the clergy, the press, and the public generally; therefore be it

Resolved: First—That we urge upon all employers that they interest themselves to provide for the health, comfort and morality of their female employees, and particularly that they exercise care in the selection of their heads of departments, superintendents, and floor walkers, and other male employees, that fairness, courtesy, delicacy and morality may be observed.

Second—That we urge upon the health department and officials of the city generally, the enforcement of the laws regarding sanitary conditions of stores, provision of proper toilet arrangements, seats for saleswomen, and against the employment of children under the legal age.

Third—That we urge upon the legislature the consideration of further legislation regarding the hours of labor, the observance of the Saturday half-holiday and the employment of children.

Fourth—That we urge upon the clergymen and other philanthropically disposed persons, and upon churches and benevolent societies to give their influence toward the betterment of the conditions of the saleswomen of this city, and that they take such practical measures as they may judge suitable to make their influence felt through the formation of committees in the parishes, wards and localities.

Fifth—That we urge upon the saleswomen to combine in their own behalf for the protection of their rights, either through such organizations as already exist, or through new organizations.

Sixth—That we urge upon the daily and weekly press of the city, both secular and religious, the publication of facts relative to the condition of saleswomen, such as have been here presented, that full information may be given to the public of the needs of this large and important class of the community.

Seventh—That we urge upon the public the desirability of dealing with those stores where a humane consideration of the health, comfort and morality of employees is shown, and that purchasers patronize such stores wherever possible.

#### OUR CAUSE IS THE CAUSE OF THE WORLD.

E. Nesbitt in Dakota Knights of Labor.

If you dam up the river of progress,  
At your peril and cost let it be!  
That river must seaward, despite you,  
'Twill break down your dams and be free!  
And we heed not the pitiful barriers  
That you in its way have down cast,  
For your efforts but add to the torrent  
Whose flood must overwhelm you at last!  
For our banner is raised and unfurled;  
At your head our defiance is hurled—  
Our hope is the hope of the ages,  
Our cause is the cause of the world!

We laugh in the face of the forces  
That strengthen the flood they oppose;  
For, the harder oppression, the fiercer  
The current will be when it flows.  
We shall win, and the tyrants' battalions  
Will be scattered like chaff in the fight,  
From which the true soldier of Freedom  
Shall gather new courage and might!  
For our banner is raised and unfurled;  
At your head our defiance is hurled—  
Our hope is the hope of the ages,  
Our cause is the cause of the world!

Whether leading the van of the fighters  
In the bitterest stress of the strife,  
Or patiently bearing the burden  
Of changelessly commonplace life,  
One hope we have ever before us,  
One aim to attain and fulfill,  
One watchword we cherish to mark us  
One kindred and brotherhood still!  
For our banner is raised and unfurled;  
At your head our defiance is hurled—  
Our hope is the hope of the ages,  
Our cause is the cause of the world!

What matter if failure on failure  
Crowd closely upon us and press!  
Where a hundred have bravely been beaten,  
The hundred and first wins success!  
Our watchword is "Freedom"—new soldiers  
Flock each day where her flag is unfurled,  
Our hope is the hope of the ages,  
Our cause is the cause of the world!  
For our banner is raised and unfurled;  
At your head our defiance is hurled—  
Our hope is the hope of the ages,  
Our cause is the cause of the world!

#### "RESULTS,"

Akron, Ohio, Times.

"What the country wants is results, not speeches," says Congressman McKinley. Well, speeches are better than certain "results," major. Tariff speeches would suit the Kansas farmer much better than the practical tariff "results" which makes him burn his corn for fuel.

#### WHY DO WE TAX HOUSES?

The Bloomington, Ill., Daily Leader is a veritable giant in the cause of tax reform. It deals crushing blows right and left, regardless of whom it may hit. Here is its leading editorial in a late issue in which it leaves not a doubt as to how it stands on the burning question. Read it:

When people build houses they give employment to labor. They must buy lumber, and it takes labor to fell trees and labor to hew the logs; it takes labor to saw the boards; it takes labor to load the cars and to haul the lumber; it takes labor to make brick, to make mortar, to make paints, to make nails, hinges, locks, door knobs, window glass, hatchets and saws; it takes labor to nail the boards, lay the brick, the laths and do the plastering; it takes labor to do the painting, the roofing and the guttering; it takes labor to make the window curtains to go into the house, to make carpets, to make chairs, tables, stoves, pots, kettles, pans, dishes and buckets; to make pictures to adorn the walls and bric-a-brac to fill the corners and top of the mantle; it takes labor to do all these things, and therefore it requires coal to furnish steam to the manufacturer who must make the things needed, and coal to furnish the miller steam to make the lumber; it takes horses and oxen to haul the lumber and the brick and the goods manufactured, and therefore labor is required to raise horses and oxen; and yet we tax TAX men for building houses. A magnificent scheme, ain't it? We tax dogs because we don't want too many of them.

Do we tax houses from the time they are roofed until the time they are rotted because we don't want too many of them?

Do we tax houses because we don't want the farmers to raise too many horses and oxen?

Do we tax houses because we don't want people to dig too much coal?

Do we tax houses because we don't want people to cut down too many trees and make too much lumber?

Do we tax houses because we want to discourage the manufacture of nails, furniture and all that goes to make a house complete?

Do we tax houses from the time they are roofed until they are rotted because we want to discourage the making of brick?

To the first person who will furnish the Leader one good reason why houses should be taxed a premium worth several yearly subscriptions will be given.

#### HIGH PROTECTION PHILOSOPHY.

Rhode Island Democrat.

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## SINGLE TAX ORGANIZATIONS.

(Secretaries of clubs are requested to send any corrections in the list below, and all newly formed organizations are asked to report promptly, either to the Enrollment committee or The Standard.)

## ARKANSAS.

**LITTLE ROCK.**—Little Rock single tax club. Every alternate Thursday evening, 717 Main st. Pres., Sol F. Clark; sec., O. D. Hemming, 1910 Main st.

## CALIFORNIA.

**SAN FRANCISCO.**—California single tax society. Every Sunday evening, E. George's hall, 909½ Market st. Library and reading room open from 9 a.m. to 10 p.m., 841 Market st. Pres., H. L. Pease; sec., G. A. Hubbell; fin. sec., John A. Maynard. Address of all officers, 841 Market st.

**SACRAMENTO.**—Single tax club of Sacramento. Every Friday evening, Dr. Reed's office, 6th and K sts. Pres., Dr. Thos. B. Reed; sec., C. W. Farnsworth, 1406 4th st.

**OAKLAND.**—Single tax club No. 1 meets every Friday evening at St. Andrews hall, 1058½ Broadway. Pres., A. J. Gregg; sec., E. Haddins.

**LOS ANGELES.**—Los Angeles single tax club. Pres., I. J. Harrell; sec., Clarence A. Miller.

**SAN DIEGO.**—San Diego single tax county committee. Every Monday evening, 139 10th st. Chairman, Geo. B. Whaley, Novelette book stand, 439 Fifth st.

**BLACK DIAMOND.**—Contra Costa county single tax committee. Jeff. A. Bailey, sec.

## COLORADO.

**STATE.**—Colorado State single tax association, room 14, Byers block, 15th and Champa sts. Pres., A. W. Elder; sec., H. C. Niles; treas., Geo. Champion.

**DENVER.**—Denver single tax association. Every Thursday evening, 303 16th st. Free reading room open every day, 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. Pres., G. H. Phelps; sec., F. H. Monroe, 2351 Marion st.

**PUEBLO.**—Commonwealth single tax club. First and Fourth Thursdays at office of D. B. V. Reeve, Union av. Pres., D. B. V. Reeve; sec., J. W. Brentlinger, Pueblo Smelting and Refining Co.

**GRAND JUNCTION.**—Mesa county single tax and ballot reform club. Pres., James W. Bucklin; sec., Geo. Smith.

**CANYON CITY.**—Single tax committee; sec., Dr. Frank P. Blake.

## CONNECTICUT.

**NEW HAVEN.**—Tax reform club. Every Friday evening, room 11, 102 Orange st. Pres., Willard D. Warren; sec., Alfred Smith, 105 Day st.

**MERIDEN.**—Meriden single tax club. 3 p. m. every Sunday, Circle hall. Pres., Wm. Hawthorne; sec., Wm. Willis, P. O. box 1342.

## DAKOTA.

**STATE.**—South Dakota single tax association. Pres., Judge Levi McGee of Rapid City; sec., W. E. Brokaw, box A, Watertown.

**RAPID CITY.**—Black Hills single tax league. Last Saturday in each month, Library hall. Pres., Judge Levi McGee; sec., Francis H. Clark.

**MADISON.**—Lake county single tax club. Chairman, Prof. E. H. Evanson.

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

**WASHINGTON.**—Washington single tax league; always open; regular meeting Friday evening, 609 F street, N. W. Pres., Paul T. Bowen; sec., Wm. Geddes, M. D., 1719 G st., N. W.

## FLORIDA.

**PENSACOLA.**—Pensacola single tax club No. 1. Tuesday evenings, K. of L. hall, corner of Zaragoza and Palafox sts. Pres., J. Dennis Wolfe; sec., James McHugh.

**TAMPA.**—Thomas G. Shearman single tax league. First Monday in each month, business meeting; Sundays, public speaking. Pres., C. E. Ainsworth; sec., John H. McCormick.

## GEORGIA.

**ATLANTA.**—Atlanta single tax club No. 1. Pres., J. M. Beath; sec., J. Henley Smith, 67 Whitehall st.

**AUGUSTA.**—Augusta single tax club. Every Friday evening, Hussar hall. Pres., Ed. Flury; sec., George Haines, care of Loflin & Meyer.

## ILLINOIS.

**CHICAGO.**—Chicago single tax club No. 1. Every Thursday evening, club room 4, Grand Pacific hotel. Pres., Warren North Bailey; sec., F. W. Irwin, 217 La Salle st., room 835.

**SPRINGFIELD.**—Sangamon single tax club. Pres., Joseph Farris; sec., James H. McCrea, 623 Black ave.

**JACKSONVILLE.**—Morgan county single tax club. Pres., Col. Wm. Camm of Murrayville; sec., Chas. W. Alexander of Jacksonville.

**SPARTA.**—Single tax committee. Sec., Wm R. Bailey.

**QUINCY.**—Gem City single tax club. Every Friday evening, Opera house building. Pres., C. F. Perry; cor. sec., Duke Schroer, 327 S. 3d.

## INDIANA.

**STATE.**—Indiana single tax league. Pres., Henry Rawie, Anderson; vice-pres., L. P. Custer, Indianapolis; sec., Thos. J. Hudson, 185 Elm st., Indianapolis. State executive committee, Henry Rawie, Anderson; H. W. Williams, Vincennes; L. O. Bishop, Clinton; Dr. C. A. Kersey, Richmond; Chas. G. Bennett, Evansville; Wm. Henry, Connersville; W. E. McDermut, Ft. Wayne; T. J. Hudson, J. F. White, L. P. Custer, Indianapolis.

**CLINTON.**—Single tax club. Sunday afternoons, 3 o'clock, Argus office. Pres., Isaac H. Strain; sec., L. O. Bishop.

**FORT WAYNE.**—Single tax club. Pres., W. E. McDermut; vice pres., J. M. Schwerzgen; sec., Henry Cohen.

**INDIANAPOLIS.**—Indianapolis single tax league. Every Thursday evening, 8 p.m., Mansur hall, n. e. cor. Washington and Alabama sts. Pres., Dr. Brown; sec., L. P. Custer.

**EVANSVILLE.**—Single tax association. Pres., Edwin Walker; sec., Charles G. Bennett.

**RICHMOND.**—Single tax club. Pres., C. S. Schneider, 105 South Third st.; sec., M. Richie, 925 South A st.

## IOWA.

**BURLINGTON.**—Burlington single tax club. First and third Wednesday of each month, 315 Jefferson st. Pres., Richard Spencer; sec., Wilbur Mosson, 900 Hedge ave.

**DES MOINES.**—Single tax club. Pres., E. E. Allison, box 6; sec., J. Ballenger.

**COUNCIL BLUFFS.**—Council Bluffs single tax

club; second and fourth Sunday of each month, 230 p.m.; 724 Sixth st. Pres., Chas. Shearman; sec., I. Kinahan, 336 W. Broadway.

**ALBION.**—Tax reform club. Every Thursday evening, Vest's hall. Pres., A. J. Morgan; sec., D. D. Shirley.

**MARSHALLTOWN.**—Single tax committee. Pres., James Skegg; sec., Hans Erickson.

**MASON CITY.**—Single tax committee; 1st and 3d evenings of each month at Dr. Osborne's office. Pres., J. A. Scanton; sec., J. B. Mott.

## KANSAS.

**ABILENE.**—Single tax club. Pres., C. W. Brooks; vice-pres., H. Charters; sec., A. L. Russel.

**GROVE HILL.**—Grove Hill single tax club. Thursday evenings, Grove Hill school house, Lincoln township, Dickinson county. Pres., E. Z. Butcher; sec., Andrew Reddick.

## LOUISIANA.

**NEW ORLEANS.**—Louisiana single tax club. Meets every Thursday night at 8 p. m. at 205 Canal st. Pres., Jas. Middleton; sec., G. W. Roberts, 326 Thalia st.

## MAINE.

**AUBURN.**—Auburn single tax club. Saturday evenings, room 3, Phoenix block, Main st.; reading room open every evening. Pres., Thos. Marsden; sec., W. E. Jackson, 1227 7th st.

**LEWISTON.**—Single tax committee. Every Wednesday evening, 79 Summer st. Chairman, F. D. Lyford; sec., Joseph Walsh, 79 Summer st.

## MARYLAND.

**BALTIMORE.**—Single tax league of Maryland. Every Monday, at 8 p.m., in hall 506 E. Baltimore st. Pres., Wm. J. Ogden, 5 N. Carey st.; sec., John Salmon, 415 N. Eutaw st.; cor. sec., Dr. Wm. N. Hill, 1438 Baltimore st.

**Baltimore single tax society.** Every Sunday evening, 8 p.m., at Industrial hall, 316 W. Lombard st. Pres., J. G. Schonfarber; W. H. Kelly.

**Single tax association of East Baltimore.** Pres., J. M. Ralph; sec., Chas. H. Williams, 312 Myrtle av.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

**BOSTON.**—Boston single tax league, Wells's memorial hall. Pres., Hamlin Garland, 12 Moreland st.; sec., Edwin M. White, 27 Pemberton square.

**Neponset single tax league.** Every Thursday evening, 389½ Neponset ave., Boston. Sec., Q. A. Lothrop, 43 Walnut st.

**Dorchester single tax club.** Every other Wednesday evening, Field's building, Field's Corner. Rooms open every day from 10 a. m. to 10 p. m. Pres., Ed Frost; sec., John Adams, Field's building.

**Roxbury single tax club.** Pres., Frank W. Mendum; sec., Henry C. Romaine, 250 Rugles st.

**STONEHAM.**—Stoneham single tax league. Pres., Dr. W. Symington Brown, Stoneham.

**LYNN.**—Lynn single tax league. Pres., C. H. Libbey st., 331 Washington st.; sec., John McCarthy, 140 Tunson st.

**WORCESTER.**—Tenth district single tax league of Worcester. Meetings first Thursday of each month, class room, Y. M. C. A. building, 20 Pearl st. Pres., Thomas J. Hastings; sec., Edwin K. Page, Lake View, Worcester.

**LAWRENCE.**—Lawrence single tax club. Every Thursday evening, Col. J. P. Sweeney's office. Pres., Col. John P. Sweeney; sec., John J. Donovan, city clerk's office.

**HYDE PARK.**—Single tax club. Sec., F. S. Childs, 40 Charles st.

**ORANGE.**—Single tax league of Orange. First Wednesday of each month, pres. and secretary's residence. Pres., H. W. Hammond; sec., Charles G. Kiddor.

**NEWBURYPORT.**—Merrimac assembly. Saturday evenings, 48 State st. Pres., Dennis F. Murphy; sec., W. R. Whitmore, 236 Merrimac st.

**MALDEN.**—Single tax club. Meetings fortnightly at Deliberative hall, Pleasant st. Pres., Geo. W. Cox, Glenwood st.; sec., Edwin T. Clark, 100 Tremont st.

## MICHIGAN.

**STURGIS.**—Sturgis club of investigation. Pres., Rufus Spalding; sec., Thomas Harding.

**SAGINAW.**—Single tax club, rooms 413 Genesee av., East Saginaw. Pres., Edward L. Weggenier; sec., Jas. Duffy, 803 State st.

## MINNESOTA.

**MINNEAPOLIS.**—Minneapolis single tax league. Every Tuesday evening at the West hotel. Pres., C. J. Buell, 402 W. Franklin av.; sec., J. A. Sawyer, 309 Lumber exchange.

**South Minneapolis single tax club.** Wednesday evenings, at 1809 E. Lake st. Pres., A. M. Goodrich; sec., P. F. Hammersley.

**ST. PAUL.**—Pres., H. C. McCartney; sec., R. C. Morgan, Northern Pacific railroad office.

## MISSOURI.

**ST. LOUIS.**—St. Louis single tax league. s. e. cor. 8th and Olive, meets every Tuesday evening. Rooms open every evening. Pres., H. E. Hoffman; sec., J. W. Steele, 2738 Gumble street.

**"Benton School of Social Science."** Saturday, 8 p.m., 6339 Waldemar ave., St. Louis. Pres., Dr. Henry S. Chase; sec., Wm. C. Little.

**LA DUE.**—The Reform club of La Due. Pres., W. Stephens; sec., Jas. Wilson.

**KANSAS CITY.**—Kansas City single tax club. Meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 at headquarters, cor. 15th and Grand av.; open every night. Pres., H. S. Julian; sec., Warren Wasson, 110 E. 15th st.

**HEMAMM.**—Single tax committee. Pres., R. H. Hasenritter; sec., Dr. H. A. Hibbard.

**HIGH GATE.**—Single tax league. Meetings on alternate Thursdays at the house of W. M. Kinhead. Pres., Wm. Kinhead; sec., J. W. Swaw.

**OAK HILL.**—Single tax league. Pres., F. Debolt; sec., J. W. Miller.

**RED BIRD.**—Single tax league. Pres., J. S. Cahill; sec., J. Krewson, Red Bird, Mo.

## NEBRASKA.

**OMAHA.**—Omaha single tax club. Sunday afternoons, Gate City hall, cor. 13th and Douglas sts. Pres., Rufus S. Parker; sec., Cyrus F. Beckett, 411 N. 23d st.

**WYOMING.**—Henry George single tax club. Pres., H. C. Jaynes; sec., J. A. Hamm.

## NEW JERSEY.

**JERSEY CITY.**—Standard single tax club. Meets every other Thursday evening at the National assembly rooms, 645 Newark ave. Pres., John W. Jakeway; sec., Joseph Dana Miller, 327 Grove st.

**NEWARK.**—Newark single tax club. Pres., Herbert Boggs, 82 Broad st.; sec., M. G. Gaffney, 43 Warren place.

**PATERSON.**—Passaic Co. single tax club. Pres., E. W. Nellis; sec., John A. Craig, 192 Hamburg ave. Meetings every Sunday evening at 169 Market street.

**S. ORANGE.**—S. Orange single tax club. Pres., E. H. Wallace; sec., Henry Haase.

**VINELAND.**—Vineland single tax and ballot reform club. Pres., Rev. Adolph Roeder; sec., Wm. F. Nichols, box 924.

**JANVIER.**—Janvier single tax and ballot reform club. Alternate Thursday evenings, Janvier hall. Pres., W. J. Rice; sec., Sydney R. Walsh.

**CAMDEN.**—Camden single tax club. Pres., Louis M. Randall; sec., Wm. M. Callingham.

**WASHINGTON.**—Washington land and tax club. Pres., John Morrison; sec., W. H. Christine.

**BAYONNE.**—Single tax committee. Chairman, Wm. R. DuBois.

**PASSAIC.**—Single tax committee of Passaic. Pres., Oscar D. Wood.

## NEW YORK.

**NEW YORK.**—Manhattan single tax club. Business meeting, first Thursday of each month, at 8 p. m.; other Thursdays, social and propaganda. Club rooms, 73 Lexington ave.; open every day from 6 p. m. to 12 p. m. Pres., Louis F. Post; sec., A. J. Steers.

**Harlem single tax club,** room 3, 247 West 125th st. Business meeting every Tuesday, 8.30 p. m. Whist and social evening every Thursday. Pres., Eugene G. Muret; sec., Chas. H. Mitchell.

**North New York single tax club.** Every Tuesday at 8 p. m., at 2840 3d ave. Pres., James R. Small; sec., Thomas F. Foy.

**BROOKLYN.**—Brooklyn single tax club. Club house, 193 Livingston st. Open every evening. Discussions Wednesday evenings. Business meetings Friday evenings. Lectures Sunday evenings. Pres., Peter Aitken; cor. sec., Robert Baker, 884 Greene ave.

**The Eastern District single tax club.** Business meetings first and third Monday evenings of each month at 284 Broadway. Public meetings during spring and summer months as advertised, at the call of the president, Joseph McGuinness, 215 Ross st.; sec., Emily A. Deverall, 284 Broadway.

**Eighteenth ward single tax club.** Meets every Tuesday evening, 8 p. m., at 253 Evergreen av.

**BUFFALO.**—Tax reform club. Every Wednesday evening, Central labor union hall. Pres., S. C. Rogers; sec., H. B. Buddenburg, 824 Clinton st., E. Buffalo.

**ROCHESTER.**—Rochester single tax club. Sunday, 8 p. m.; Sunday, 3 p. m.; 80 Reynolds's Arcade. Pres., J. M. Campbell; sec., D. Waters, 80 Reynolds's arcade.

**ALBANY.**—Single tax club. Meetings every Thursday, 7.30 p. m. Pres., J. C. Koshirt; sec., George Noyes, 308 First st.

**SYRACUSE.**—Syracuse single tax club. 113 Walton street. Pres., F. A. Paul; sec., H. R. Perry, 149 South Clinton st.

**POUGHKEEPSIE.**—Single tax club. Every Thursday evening, 8 p. m., 226 Union st. Pres., W. C. Albroy; sec., F. S. Arnold.

**AUBURN.**—Single tax club. Mondays, 7.30 p. m. College hall. Pres., Dan. Peacock; sec., H. W. Benedict, 6 Morris st.

**ELLENVILLE.**—Single tax club of Ellenville. First and third Monday of each month, Canal st., over E. Bevier's drug store. Pres., Wm. Lambert; sec., Benj. Hull.

**FLUSHING.**—Single tax club. Pres., D. C. Beard; sec., Fred Sheffield.

**NEW BRIGHTON.**—Richmond county single tax club. Every Monday evening, Parabol hall, New Brighton. Pres., J. S. Cogan; sec., A. B. Stoddard, W. New Brighton.

**NORTHPORT.**—Single tax committee. Sec., J. K. Rudyard.

**OWEGO.**—Single tax club. Pres., Michael J. Murray; sec., J. M. Wilson, 204 Front st.

**TROY.**—Single tax club. Meetings weekly at 576 River st. Pres., Henry Sterling; sec., B. B. Martis, 576 River st.

**COHOES.**—Single tax committee. Pres., P. C. Dandurant; sec., J. S. Crane 128 Ontario st.

**GLOVERSVILLE.**—Single tax committee. Chairman, A. P. Blad; sec., Dr. Wm. C. Wood, 30 S. Main st.

**JAMESTOWN.**—Single tax club of Jamestown. Last Saturday evening of each month. Pres., Adam Stormer; sec., F. G. Anderson, 300 Barrett st.

**YONKERS.**—The Jefferson single tax club, 13 N Broadway. Public meetings every Tuesday evening at 7.45. Pres., Fielding Gower; sec., Wm. Young, P. O. box 617.

## OHIO.

**STATE.**—Ohio single tax league. State executive board: Pres., W. F. Bien, 1638 Wilson av., Cleveland; vice-pres., J. G. Galloway, 263 Samuel st., Dayton; treas., Wm. Radcliffe, Youngstown; sec., Edw. L. Hyneman, room 3, 348½ S. High st., Columbus.

**CLEVELAND.**—Cleveland single tax club. Every Wednesday evening, 8 p. m., 144 Ontario st., room 16. Pres., Tom L. Johnson; sec., C. H. Nau, room 25, Standard block.

**CINCINNATI.**—Cincinnati single tax club. Every Sunday afternoon, Club room, Bradford's block, n. w. cor. 6th and Vine sts. Pres., James Semple, 478 Central av.; sec., Alfred H. Henderson, 23 Clark st.

**COLUMBUS.**—Central single tax club. Sec., Edw. L. Hyneman, 348½ S. High st.

**Columbus single tax club.** Meets Sunday at 3.30 p. m. Pres., H. S. Swank, 51 Clinton building; sec., E. Hullinger.

**Tiffin.**—Single tax committee. Sec., Dr. H. F. Barnes.

**GALION.**—Galion single tax club. Every Monday evening, residence of P. J. Snay, 103 S. Union st. Pres., P. J. Snay; sec., Maud E. Snay.

**DAYTON.**—Free land club. Pres., John Birch; sec., W. W. Kile, 108 E. 5th st.

**AKRON.**—Akron single tax club. Pres., Jno. McBride; sec., Sam Rodgers.

**MIAMI.**—Land and labor association of Miami. Pres., C. F. Beall; sec., J. T. Beall.

**MANASSAS.**—Manassas single tax club. Pres., Dr. T. J. Bristor; sec., W. J. Huggins, 45 W. 1st st.

**TOLEDO.**—Single tax club No. 1 meets at 118 Summit st. every Sunday at 10 a. m. Pres., A. R. Wyan; sec., J. P. Travers.

**YOUNGSTOWN.**—Every Thursday evening,

Ivorites hall. Pres., Billy Radcliffe; sec., A. C. Hughes, 6 S. Market st.

**ZANESVILLE.**—Central single tax club. Pres., W. H. Loughhead; sec., Wm. Quigley.

## OREGON.

**PORTLAND.**—Portland ballot reform and single tax club. First Monday of each month, Real Estate Exchange hall. Pres., T. D. Warwick; sec., Wallace Yates, 43 Stark st.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

**PHILADELPHIA.**—Single tax society of Philadelphia. Every Thursday, 8 p.m., 904 Walnut st. Cor. sec., A. H. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut st.

**Southwark tax reform club.** Meets every Saturday evening at 8 p.m., at Wright's hall, Passyunk av. and Moore st. Pres., John Cosgrove; sec., H. Valet, 512 Queen st.

**Kensington single tax club.** Every Sunday evening, 8 o'clock, Textile hall, cor. Kensington av. and Cumberland st. Pres., Jas. Wright; sec., John Moore, 1354 Vienna st.

**Pittsburg.**—Pittsburg single tax club. 1st, 3d and 5th Sundays at 2.30 p.m., 102 Fourth av. Pres., Edmund Yardley; sec., Mark F. Roberts, 140 24th st., S. S.

**BRADFORD.**—Single tax club, St. James place. Open every evening. Meetings Wednesday evening and Sunday afternoon at 3 p. m. Pres., Phil. D. Tanguay; sec., J. C. De Forist.

**READING.**—Reading single tax society. Monday evenings, 522 Court st. Pres., Chas. S. Prizer; sec., Wm. H. McKinney, 522 Court st.

**ERIE.**—Erie tax reform league. Pres., W. G. McKean; sec., J. L. Babcock.

**EDWARDSVILLE.**—Jefferson ballot reform and single tax club. First Friday of each month. Pres., J. J. Smythe, M. D.; sec., J. P. Hammond.

**LEBANON.**—Lebanon single tax and land club. Pres., Adam Behny; sec., J. G. Zimmerman, 111 N. Fourteenth st.

**SCRANTON.**—Henry George single tax club, 1st and 3d Friday evenings of each month, Noake's hall, cor. Franklin ave. and Spruce st. Pres., Duncan Wright; sec., Arthur McGee, 914 Capouse ave.

**SHENANDOAH.**—Single tax club. Sundays, 3 p.m., 415 W. Coal st. Pres., Morris Marsh; sec., Thomas G. Potts.

**UPPER LEHIGH.**—Single tax committee. Pres., J. R. Carr; sec., George McGe.

**JOHNSTOWN, Pa.**—Henry George club. Meets every Monday evening for public discussion. Pres., A. J. Moxham; sec., Richard Eyre.

**POTTSTOWN.**—Single tax club. Meetings 1st and 3d Friday evenings each month in Weitzenkorn's hall. Pres., D. L. Haws; sec., H. H. Johnson, 530 Walnut st.

## RHODE ISLAND.

**PROVIDENCE.**—Single tax association of Rhode Island. Alternate Friday evenings, room 22, Blad building, cor. Washington and Eddy sts. Pres., Dr. Wm. Barker; sec., Geo



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## IT ALMOST SEES THE CAT.

A RIGHT WHICH CIVILIZED MAN HAS, SOMEHOW, DROPPED THROUGH A HOLE IN HIS POCKET.

The Boston Globe in editorially commenting on Bismarck's recent declaration that "the antagonism between employer and employed" is, in his opinion, "the result of a natural law, and in the course of nature never can come to an end," asks: "Then what becomes of the well worn assurance that 'the interests of capital and labor are the same?'" The Globe thus continues:

One thing is pretty clear. If the antagonism between the employer and the employed is the result of a natural law, the antagonism between capital and labor is not. We are too apt to consider "employer" and "capital" as synonymous terms. The settler on the western plains works hard for days to make a rude plow or a yoke for his oxen. When he has made it it is capital, and he finds no antagonism between that and his labor. On the contrary, it is a help, and the more of such things he can get the more effective his labor will be. While he has a comfortable supply of them and land of his own, he fears no employer. If he chooses to go into the town and work in a factory, he is still independent, for if the employer does not treat him well he can snap his finger and go back to his farm. If the employer wishes to entice him back to the factory he will have to offer him wages as high, all things considered, as he could make for himself acting as his own employer. If all men could thus revert to the primitive employments when they are hard pushed in the warfare between employers and employed, there would be very little need of strikes. Labor would hold the key to the situation.

But, alas! all the unemployed cannot revert to the primitive employments when they are hard pressed in the industrial warfare. That is a right which the savage enjoys, but the civilized man has dropped it out of a hole in his pocket somehow. We still have land enough in this country to give work to all who desire it, but what with the jumbo grants to railroads and the greed of private speculators the poor man can't get hold of a piece of it that will yield a living to his toil, unless he can pay the wages of five or ten or fifteen years' labor for it, and generally he can't.

It is a pity; a country which nature made large enough for 1,000,000,000 people already crowded with 60,000,000. There is a good deal of truth in what Bismarck says. There is necessarily a conflict of interest between those who pay the wages and those who receive them. And where the laborer has not the primitive privilege of becoming his own employer upon occasion he is at a disadvantage.

## THE LAW OF EXCHANGE.

Boston Globe.

Congressman Bland of Missouri has introduced a bill to place on the free list all imported goods that are exchanged for American farm products.

The bill ought to do a great deal toward opening the eyes of the farmers to the real

nature of that systematic repression of trade which is mis-called protection.

By far the greater part of all the goods imported into this country are imported in exchange for the products of American farms. To try to keep them out, to make their importation difficult and costly, is to try to keep out the pay for the breadstuffs we send abroad, and to diminish the price we get for them.

If a farmer send a wagon load of pumpkins into a neighboring city and direct that the proceeds be invested in clothing and groceries, with perhaps a few rakes and hoes, would he think it for his benefit if his returning load was taxed by a highwayman or a toll keeper? If not, he ought not to suppose that it is a benefit to him to have the returning ships that take his wheat to other lands taxed on their cargoes as they re-enter our ports.

The real pay for the breadstuffs we send abroad is not the money they nominally bring, but the goods that are imported with the money. To tax the imports is to tax and diminish the gross reward which this country receives for its exports.

Mr. Bland's bill will do a good thing if it opens the eyes of the farmers to this economic truth that trade is reciprocal and that money is but a medium of exchange, not itself the final object of the exchange.

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